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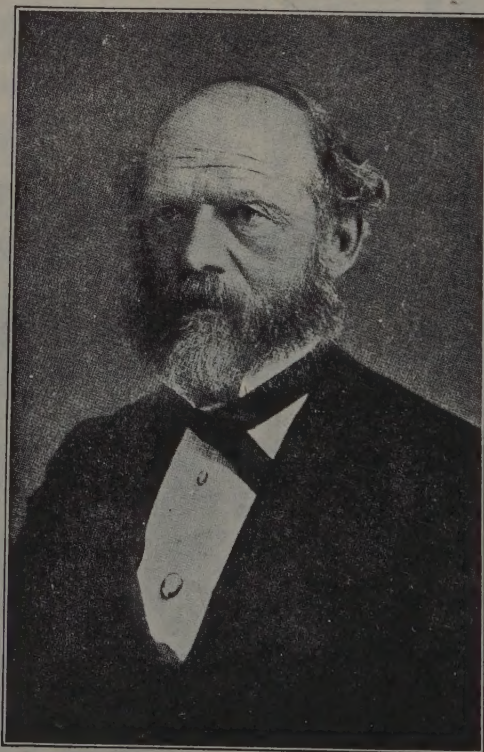
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



ANCIENT SOCIETY

OR

Researches in the Lines of Human Progress: From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization



LEWIS H. MORGAN

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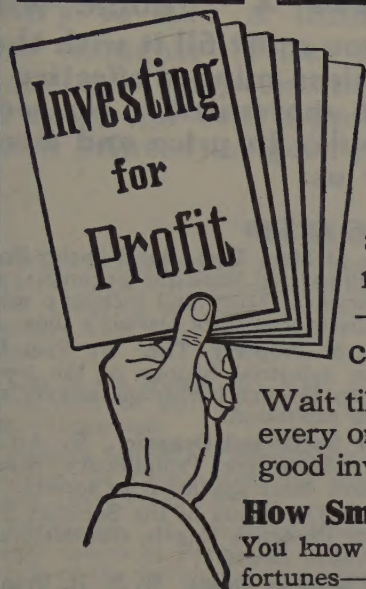
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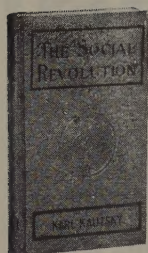
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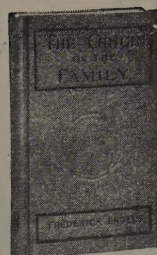
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April

1916

The
**INTERNATIONAL
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No. 10

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**INTERNATIONAL
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VOL. XVI

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BLEEDING MEXICO

By DAVID BRUCE

(The author of this remarkable article writes: "This is my third attempt to get some stuff through to the Review, and the good God alone knows if this will get out of the country. It is strictly against the law down here to send out articles uncensored. I'd as soon lose my right arm as allow these fellows here to censor my stuff. I believe I am spotted anyway. The penalty if caught is instant deportation at the nearest port of entry or the firing squad. I have no firing squad ambitions.)

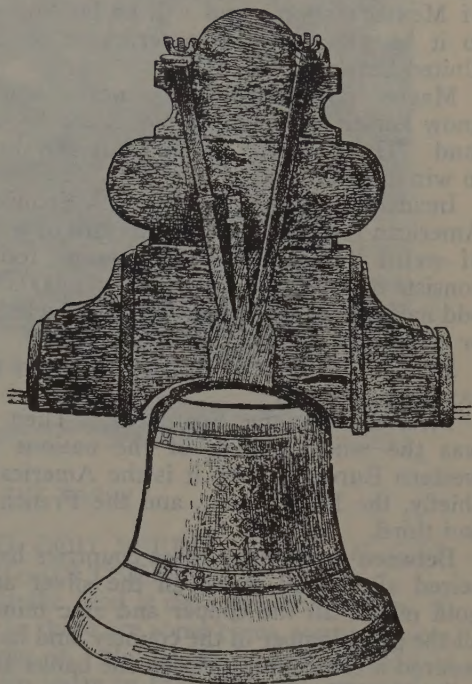
WALL STREET WANTS INTERVENTION BEFORE THE EUROPEAN WAR IS OVER. If intervention comes now while the hands of France and Britain are tied, the American interests have more chance to get all their feet in the trough.

Mexico is an immensely rich country. It has well been called the treasure house of the world.

It heads the nations in the production of silver.

It is second (next to the U. S.) in the production of copper.

It is third in the production of oil, and its oil wells have only begun to be developed.



MEXICAN LIBERTY BELL

It First Rang Out for Liberty in September, 1810.
In 1896 It Was Removed to the National Palace.

It is fourth in the production of gold.

Its agricultural resources can hardly even be estimated. They have not been developed in the past because the owners of the great haciendas would not permit it.

The northern country is the last great cattle range. It soon will be feeding beef to the world.

The west coast is a garden that makes California seem a desert, and along which, I believe, every fruit in the world can be grown.

The people, the plain people, forget these things. But the Interests don't, not for a minute.

There are Americans at work just now buying up every acre of Mexican land they

can lay their paws on. Naturally they can buy it cheaply just now; naturally much of the selling is done by owners who have tears in their hearts.

If a real revolution of the people should not come, and intervention should, so these birds of prey would be permitted to go ahead, they'll own the whole blamed country by the time this is over. And they'll have bought it at bargain prices in the time of Mexico's agony, and will be holding on to it by grace of the government of the United States.

Magon said that Mexico never would know herself until the people won back the land. There will be no land left for them to win unless the people rise.

Incidentally, Mexico is NOT a Spanish-American republic. It is a mixture of a lot of weird things, and its population today consists of 6,000,000 odd Indians, 6,000,000 odd half-breeds, and about 2,500,000 whites, or gentlemen claiming to be whites.

Ever since Cortez, Mexico has been an exploited country.

First it was the Spaniards. Then it was the whole boiling of the nations of western Europe. Now it is the Americans chiefly, the British next, and the French a bad third.

Between them, these three countries have seized all the oil wells, all the silver and gold mines, all the copper and zinc mines, all the good lumber in the country, and have secured a controlling grip on the banks and railroads. Therefore, of course, these three nations have been the real rulers of the country.

In the oil fields, what was inevitable in view of the American and British oil monopolies happened. There was war between Standard Oil and the Cowdrays, a war of bribery, of nasty, mean underhandedness.

When the revolution broke out, this war took a new tack. Cowdray would back one faction; 26 Broadway promptly backed the other. Cowdray had the British government protest something; 26 Broadway had the heavy hand of the American government displayed. The Guggenheim interests, the silver and lumber trusts, took a similar course.

The revolution thus was quite pleasing in its initial stages to the Big Interests. Each one had pleasing visions of the side they had backed winning, and of new con-

cessions, new loot. But when they discovered that they could not, with all their money, control the revolution, when money began to drop, when property was destroyed, the Big Interests began to squeal like stuck pigs.

It is they who are squealing now.

And the question I wish to ask even those who bow down before the god of property is this:

Did not the Big Interests lose for themselves and for all their countrymen the right to squeal over the destruction of property the day they first gave money to a revolutionist, the day they first took sides? Wouldn't you feel that way about it if you were a Mexican?

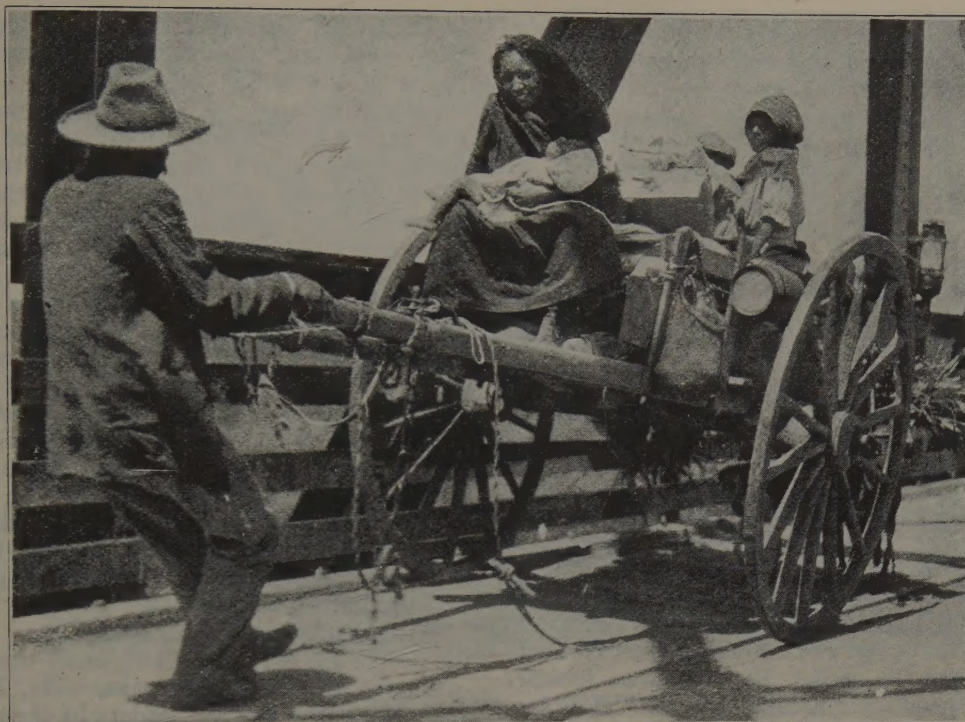
These questions are for property worshippers alone, however. The thing for the American people to remember is that it IS the Big Interests who are doing the squealing. It is they who are digging up stories of outrages, that usually happen in far places. It is they who raise such awful yelps about the death of an American, to whom they would have refused a job or a crust of bread while alive. It is they who—at a very late date, if all they say be true—have discovered that the Mexican people are starving, and it is their newspapers which doubtless have been weeping buckets of tears over that just now. It is they who want "benevolent intervention."

If I saw any hope that "benevolent intervention" would do one iota of good for the Mexican people, I might hold my peace. But I cannot.

What could it do? Set up a Diaz-like dictatorship, upheld only by American arms. Any improvements accomplished under such conditions would be swallowed with the bitter gall that only the conquered know, with the hate with which German was swallowed in Alsace. And when the American troops were withdrawn, the improvements would be torn down, not because they were improvements, but because they were the handiwork of the conqueror. Retrogression instead of progress!

And would the American troops be withdrawn? Or would they find the leaving of Mexico as hard as they now are finding the leaving of the Philippines?

I am very much in earnest about the situation here. I want to do what I can to prevent any chance of intervention, and I know that the pressure of intervention is



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A MEXICAN FAMILY ON THE MARCH

being increased steadily at Washington, and that if Wilson does not yield it will be made a campaign issue.

In his speech at Indianapolis last January, President Wilson said:

"Until the end of the Díaz reign, 80% of the people of Mexico never had a look-in in determining what their government should be.

"It is none of my business, and it is none of yours how they go about the business.

"The country is theirs. The government is theirs. The liberty, if they can get it—and God speed them in getting it—is theirs. And so far as my influence goes, while I am president, nobody shall interfere with them."

I believe that is a correct quotation, although I would not swear to it, and it seems to me that it puts the truth very clearly in all the words necessary. But since then the situation has been clouded up by the various gentlemen who have interests there, and who seem to have brought Wilson around to thinking that the business of the Mexicans IS his business. I wish Wilson would repeat that message, that promise, today, and would insert in it this sentence:

"THE FOOD, IF THEY CAN IT—

AND GOD SPEED THEM IN GETTING—IS THEIRS."

For the food is right here in Mexico. It may be there are some cities, some districts, without it. But there is enough food in Mexico today to feed the entire population.

Of course, it may be that the Big American Interests do fear an immediate rising of the people. And I know that they fear the possibility of that, and long have feared the possibility of that, with a deadly fear. They are not afraid of organized military bands, which can be treated with, and which, as a last resort, can be bought. But they have feared the rising of the whole people with the shuddering fear that shuts its eyes before the coming of the feared. They have admitted its possibility, but never its probability.

Assuredly, if a rising be near, they have cause for fear. For, if the people rise, much blood will be shed and much property destroyed. When a people long oppressed, long held in darkest ignorance, once feel the power of killing those who held them down it is likely to go to their heads, and they to excess.

The question is: Is it more worth while

to permit the sudden shedding of a river of wealthy blood and destruction of property in order to free a whole people, or to prevent this and by so doing perpetuate a system that takes its toll in men, women and children, in art, education and progress, ANNUALLY?

It seems to me there can be only one answer.

So I choose the side of Revolution. Two years ago, if someone had asked me whether I favored peaceful evolution or red revolt, I think I should have answered "peaceful evolution" without a moment's hesitation. Now . . .

Well, take the Colorado situation: Was violence justified there?

I think it safe to say that the real Mexican revolution started considerably over four years ago with the writings of a group of journalists headed by Magon.

This beginning was intellectual only, and affected only the intellectuals. It never touched the 80%. Perhaps some whisper of it penetrated to mine or hovel. But if so, I am sure the peon who heard the whisper shuddered and shrank away from this attack on established things, which, being established, must assuredly be right, and which unquestionably would punish this sacrilegious writer in a fearsome way.



A MEXICAN HAT PEDDLER

Then, four years ago, Madero crossed the Rio Grande, and a revolution of action was begun.

(We will leave the state of Chihuahua and parts of states bordering it out of this for the present. I'll deal with them later.)

But Madero's rising was in no sense a rising of the people. Madero was not of the people. He was a rich man, of a powerful family, who, having seen the light (and, perchance, some misty something to his own advantage) promised to give the people freedom. His followers were a small number of intellectuals and men of wealth like himself, and a band of adventurers ready to follow any flag if the rewards promised seemed great enough. But the people did not rise. The people were too awed, too afraid, too crushed, too used to the darkness of the pit of ignorance wherein they had been held, to be able to come at once into the light.

Madero ruled, and was assassinated. But the people did not rise. Came other leaders—Huerto, Gutierrez, Carranza, Villa, Zapata. None of these are leaders of the people. They are leaders of organized bands of armed men. True, many of these men and their followers represent the people, many more than in Madero's day. I grant they may mean to free the people, according to their several lights.

But here I want to ask the question, which is the most vital one to Mexico today, a question that ought to be put to every American who has anything to do with the Mexican question, or who even considers that question:

Can anyone free a people?

I do not believe so; I believe a people must free itself.

Do you remember the French revolution? Do you remember how, preceding it, Prince and Duc, Comte and Vicomte, rose in revolt "to free the people"?

And the French people were not freed?

Were not freed until the day that the wolf, Hunger, took them by the throat and they rose in their might and freed themselves through a river of blood!

Has ever a people been freed by different method? Has ever a people, long oppressed and kept ignorant, found the courage to free themselves until they knew the wolf?

I think not.

Chihuahua is a state of mountains and plateaus, of cañons and vast spaces, remind-



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A WEALTHY MEXICAN AND HIS FAMILY

ing one more of Arizona, New Mexico or Colorado than of Mexico. Its geography and climate has had its influence on the people, who always have been freer of spirit than those of the rest of Mexico. Also, outside of the mining districts clustered around the city of Chihuahua, the population is sparse. So it came that here in the north the revolution was a success almost from the beginning. To a great extent the people rose. The government was overthrown, a new government established. The land was seized. The peons were given freedom, and acquired shoes and meat and good clothes. Schools multiplied at an astonishing rate.

The new government was, and is, stable. That is: it is stable to this extent: There is no one within this territory so far as I know who wishes to raise the banner of revolt. Of course, it is open to attack by Carranzistas and the Huertistas and Científicos, who recently have gathered like buzzards at El Paso. But internally, the state is at peace, and the people, with more money in their pockets than ever they had before, have been going about their business, planting their crops and refusing flatly to work for American mine owners at the wages offered.

Chihuahua knows no starvation today, al-

though the drop in money, due to Villa's defeats, has hit them hard. Still, even with the peso worth only two and nine-tenth cents, the people have more money than they had six years ago.

These facts regarding Chihuahua have helped to strengthen my opposition to intervention.

Granting the influence of geography and climate here, which is lacking in the south, surely what has proved possible for the Mexicans of the north is possible for the Mexicans of the south. But it can become so only thru their own exertions.

There are 150,000 men now under arms in the republic of Mexico.

There are 15 million Mexican people.

Keep these figures in mind and then face the big fact that the Money Power in the United States has a greater grip on the country and on the freedom of the people than has the Money Power in France today. It is true that because of the traditions of the country, the Money Power in the United States has been afraid to work openly. But it has worked, and during the last fifty years it slowly has tightened its grip, and has stolen right after right of the people, while at the same time it has laid the foundations of imperial power by hav-

ing more and more "rights of property" written into the statutes.

NO NATION CAN HELP ANOTHER NATION TO DECIDE A MORAL QUESTION BY THE USE OF FORCE, ANY MORE THAN ONE CAN RE-

DEEM A DRUNKARD BY BEATING HELL OUT OF HIM.

Therefore the people of Mexico should be left strictly alone to straighten out their own morals, as President Wilson promised they should be left alone last January.

The Railway Workers' Power

By W. W. CRAIK,

Of the Central Labour College, England

The Need for Power

It should now be a self-evident truth that the workers of all branches of our industrial system require organization because *they need power*. They need power in order to resist and remove the yoke of capitalist oppression. The isolated individual is powerless. He can *find power only as an associated individual*. He can become strong only in and through powerful organizations.

The Need of Increasing Power

Capital grows in magnitude. As it becomes bigger it presses more heavily upon the workers. In the railway industry this process of growth is well marked. The many small railway companies that once existed have become absorbed in a few large concerns. The system of railway working has become so perfected, by means of machinery and science, that the railway workers can be exploited much more intensely. Wages have fallen, on the one hand, in relation to the prices of food, clothing and shelter, while, on the other hand, they have fallen in relation to the greater expenditure of energy through speeding up. It follows, therefore, that the workers employed in the railway industry *require increasing power* in order to effectively meet the increasing pressure.

The Road to Power

Organizations are not ends in themselves. They are *means* to the end of a fuller and freer life. The mere existence of a certain kind of organization does not justify its existence. The test of justification is: How far can that form of organization

meet the needs of men? If this test is not fulfilled, then, no matter how hoary the structure may be, no matter what may have been its merits in the past, the hour of its dissolution has sounded.

The National Union of Railwaymen is a modern form of industrial organization. It marks a departure from the old and still existing type. It is an advance upon that type. It was not created out of the brain of any single individual, but has been begotten by the conditions of modern industrial development. The logic of the N. U. R. is the logic of the industrial process.

So long as men are blind to the realities of their experience in the present, just so long do they oppose the old to the new: things as they have been to things that begin to be. Sooner or later, they are compelled to awaken to the necessity which is no respecter of human prejudices or ancient institutions, and to adopt that which they previously despised and rejected. These delays are wasteful. Working-class education shortens the process of transition.

Craft Unionism Examined

At the present time the dispute has developed between the old order of organization and the new; between organization upon the basis of craft and organization upon the basis of industry. Apart from the miners, who stand pledged to the new policy, the conflict has become acute between the craft unions and the National Union of Railwaymen. The N. U. R. is an organization based upon the principle of *one union for all workers engaged in the railway industry*. The craft unions, on the other hand, are based upon the prin-

ciple of separate organizations according to the special detail operations in which the men are exclusively engaged, and regardless of the other detail operations with which they are directly connected. That is to say—whether masons work without or within the railway industry, they shall all be organized in the masons' union; whether coachmakers work without or within the railway industry, they shall only be eligible for the coachmakers' union; and so on.

An industry is distinguished by the fact that it turns out a particular *product*, which is sold by the owners of that industry, and from the sale of which the profits are derived. Each industry embraces a greater or lesser number of processes, all of which represent successive stages in the production of the finished commodity. The latter, then, is the final result of a whole series of connected operations. *It is a common product, the product of the common labor of all workers within the industry.*

The *lines* of craft run *thru* an industry, cross its boundaries and extend into other industries. On the other hand, *the new principle* of organization describes a *circle*, identical with that described by the single industry which turns out a single commodity.

For example: A bricklayer building the walls of a workman's dwelling is engaged with carpenters and others in the Building Industry in turning out a saleable product—a house. A carpenter, engaged upon the Railway, works in co-operation with bricklayers, blacksmiths, platelayers, drivers, guards, and others in the Railway Industry, to produce the saleable finished article—*Railway Transport*.

So much for the productive side of the process. Organization upon the basis of industry harmonizes with the groupings of production. *It organizes men as they work. It combines in organization those workers who directly combine in production.* Organization upon the basis of craft, however, splits up into independent sections the directly cooperating producers. It takes to pieces that which, in production, is an organic whole.

How Workers Are Exploited

There is, however, another side of capitalism to be considered. Under this system, *the producer is exploited*. He must not only expend labour for the production of

some service or article. He must, at the same time, allow the owners of capital to appropriate the greater part of the value which he produces, without return. He is an unpaid worker to that extent. This unpaid labour of railway workers, for example, is the source of the railway companies' profits.

Now, just as the commodity is the result of the common labour of all sections of workmen in the same industry, so are *the profits* realized in money thru the sale of that commodity, *extracted from the common unpaid labour of all the directly-combining sections*. It is not the capitalists of the building industry who directly exploit the masons, carpenters, plumbers, etc., working in the railway industry. It is not the capitalists in the industry producing coaches or other vehicles directly for sale, who exploit the workmen making coaches for railway companies. If the railway companies bought their coaches from the concerns in the coach-building industry, then certainly the workmen building these coaches should belong to the *single union* organizing that industry. Where, however, they are employed in the railway industry, they should belong to the N. U. R.

Organization upon the basis of industry not only organizes men as they work, but organizes them also as they are immediately exploited. It adapts itself to modern capitalism in two ways: to the *collective production*, and to the *collective exploitation*. It is the economic fact of exploitation that compels men to organize at all. Organization upon the basis of craft, however, dismembers the collectively exploited whole. It cuts in pieces the various members, tears sections of workmen out of their industrial context, and destroys the force of the totality. By dividing men in that way, it weakens their resisting power.

Craft Union Anarchy

The president of the N. U. R. cited the case, at the Trade Union Congress (1915) at Bristol, of a certain railway shop where 216 grades were employed by a single railway company, and for which 82 craft unions catered. That is craft unionism in all its anarchy! Is such a state of affairs worthy of preservation? Is it a condition of organization that is likely to secure the best for every one of those 216 grades?

The only people that are served by this senseless situation are the railway companies who realize that so long as we are divided, the more easy it is to defraud us. When the N. U. R. has sought to raise the status of shopmen upon the railways, in the course of negotiations, it is the representatives of railway capital who at once point out such cases as the one referred to above, and who give it as a reason why they cannot negotiate shopmen's conditions with the N. U. R. It is for the shopmen to make such a reason impossible.

The craft union representatives, in opposing the policy of the N. U. R., have urged as a reason for that opposition the low rates paid to artisans upon the railway as compared to the rates prevailing for the same class of work outside the railway. That is true, but what does it prove? It proves that there has been something wrong with the craft unions that now claim these men. It is only the existence of the N. U. R., and the fact that the N. U. R. has begun to organize these men, that makes it possible even for these craft unions to bring forward the claim. If shopmen are wise, they will join the organization that can give them the greatest power, and, as a consequence, the greatest results.

Scientific Organization

It has been urged by certain craft union leaders that the N. U. R. policy will split the workers into small groups. What is that policy? *The substitution of one single union in place of the 82 unions* in the illustration given. Is that splitting into small groups, or is it not precisely the opposite?

Railway companies do not run their business on craft union lines. They each have one single composite control over the whole industry. They unite all their departments on the basis of industry. The organization of workmen which is to be systematic and successful is the one that embraces the workers of all departments under one single control.

The craft union representatives say "Let us federate!" But why, if craft unions are all powerful, should there be any need for federation? *Either the craft union is powerful enough, in which case federation is not required, or federation is required*

because the craft union is not powerful enough. This plea of federation proves the *weakness* of craft unionism. As for federation, it is only a half-hearted attempt at unity, and gives no guarantee of united action, for the reason that it leaves the craft autonomy of each union undisturbed. Federation, time and again, has broken down because one or two craft unions backed out. It allows a minority to frustrate the aims of the majority. There is only one way to permanently unite, and that is—to act as one.

That way is the way of *organization by industry*. Instead of fostering a state of things which allows one section to be pitted against another section in the same industry, either in the process of negotiations, or in a strike, it gives to each section the united support of every other section.

Get Together

We invite our fellow-railwaymen employed in the shops, and in other branches of the railway industry, to consider this question: Which is the most powerful union? The craft union catering for only *one department* in the railway industry, or is it the N. U. R. catering for *every department*, and capable of *paralyzing every department* of that industry? Which is the most effective in negotiating your claims? Is it by means of 82 different craft unions negotiating separately with a single railway company, or is it by *the single union representing every grade of worker in the employ of that railway company*? There can only be one reasonable answer: the answer, that all those who in common are subject to the oppression of railway capital, should, in common, resist that oppression.

The times are troublous, and the future is full of momentous issues for the workers in general. In the battles that will be fought, the victory can alone be to the scientifically organized unions; to the organizations founded upon an industrial basis. Let not the fog of prejudice bedim our eyes, but let us now marshal together, and stand together *as railway workers*, ready to fight with modern equipment against a common enemy and in a common cause—One in production!—One in exploitation!!—One in organization!!!



COMPANY OWNED SHACKS IN THE OUTSKIRTS OF SCRANTON, PA.

In the Anthracite Hills

By ROBERT MINOR

Courtesy of the Newspaper Enterprise Association.

BEFORE starting for the anthracite coal fields to investigate and picture for the REVIEW such conditions as might account for a threatened strike of tremendous size, I cast about New York City for a "tip."

"WHY, THEY HAVE PIANOS IN THEIR HOUSES!" exclaimed one wealthy coal stockholder. They imagine that big war profits are accruing and they greedily snatch for a part. They are making a good living and more; now they want money to blow in on luxuries."

In the outskirts of Scranton lies the little mining settlement of Underwood. Winning the confidence of a mine mule driver, I went to visit some miners under his guidance.

The first home I entered was that of a Pole, living in a company house.

"Have you a piano?" I asked. He looked at me quizzically.

"This ain't no place to keep a piano," he said, pointing to the front door, where a split up the middle admitted both daylight and whistling wind.

It was cold inside. The back door was a barn door, so crudely hanging in its place as to show a bit of landscape thru the crack.

The house is built of one thickness of lumber with a little plaster inside.

The miner explained that he papered the house and partly floored it himself, the place as turned over to the renter by the company having the bare earth for a portion of its floor.

These company houses—each four rooms and a lean-to—are built in a dismal row, all exactly alike.



MINERS' "HOMES" NEAR HAZELTON, PA. NEIGHBORHOOD HYDRANT AND ITALIAN CHURCH. NO COMMUNITY IS TOO POOR TO SUPPORT A FAT PRIEST

Asked where his water supply was, the miner opened the door and pointed down the hill to a pump.

"That is the water supply for eight houses," he said.

Sewage systems are unheard of. The vast majority of the houses would just about do for barns. They are not rented to "laborers," as "laborers" (miners' assistants) are not able to pay the rent.

When the union itself tried to get the Underwood miners to wait, they threw down their tools, left the old union, and called upon Joseph J. Ettor of the I. W. W. to organize them.

So, it isn't a desire for "pianos and such" that causes the trouble in the coal fields.

But, as one Irish miner said to me, "Ain't a miner got a right to a piano?"

It is well worth noting that the I. W. W. is organizing in unorganized towns, often where the workers permitted the old union to expire because of their lack

of faith in its ability to accomplish anything for them. Since August, 1915, the I. W. W. has kept organizers and speakers in the Scranton district. The results were shown in the first I. W. W. convention at Old Forge, on Sunday, Feb. 6. Ten towns and twelve locals and branches were represented by 46 delegates.

The strike thruout this section has been on for over four weeks. The coal barons at Durrea, Dupont and Old Forge have thrown up the sponge, settled with the I. W. W. and the miners are back again on the job. At Greenwood there are several hundred still out. The spirit of solidarity among the Polish and Italian miners is splendid. About one hundred men have gone back into the mines under the protection of deputies, but there were very few miners among these scabs.

In a report of the Greenwood strike, the *Scranton Times* of Friday, Feb. 25, prints the following:

"There is a very peculiar situation in



"HUNKY-DORY," A MINING SETTLEMENT NEAR HAZELTON. "MINERS' COW" IN THE MAIN STREET

Greenwood, as shown by the duebills of the striking miners, most of their laborers receiving more money."

A duebill, it may be explained, is a bill to the miner, showing amounts due to him after the company has deducted all the charges against his earnings.

"The laborers won't work for less than two dollars a day, and miners who showed duebills at the meeting yesterday had anywhere from 31 cents to \$19.38 coming to them.

Anthony Petrosky, who is number 159 on the company's roll, worked eight days. He was out of the mines several days because of the death of a child at his home. It was the intention of Petrosky to pay something on the funeral account when he received his wages. His duebill showed him entitled to \$2.51 for the eight days. He told his story at the meeting yesterday.

"Ludwig Cling was another to tell his story during the session. There are seven

in his family, and he has been mining for some time. His number is 160. His earnings for two weeks amounted to \$24.31. The deductions included three kegs of powder, cost of sharpening tools, ton of coal, and \$14, which was paid his laborer. His balance was 31 cents.

"Some of the duebills shown at the meeting yesterday follow, most of them being for two weeks' work:

"Miner No. 157 earned \$7.67, and the deductions were \$7.75, leaving him in debt 8 cents to the company.

"Miner No. 159 worked eight days and received \$2.51, and one ton of coal. Claims to have been cheated out of \$17.91. Same miner for a previous two weeks received 8 cents.

"Miner No. 518 worked nine days, got out ten cars of coal and earned \$38.51. The deductions were \$40.49, and his net earnings were \$8.02. His laborer received \$14."

Under the company store system, a very



COLLIERY AT LUZERNE, PA.

close imitation of chattel slavery was shrewdly maintained. A trip thru the anthracite hills brings one into contact with men who, in the old days, worked years for coal companies without once receiving a piece of actual money—always in debt to the company without hope of release or even the power to rebel. They simply were doled out what a black slave received before the civil war—their board and clothes.

The strike of 1900 swept that form of slavery away—ALMOST. It still persists in the Scranton region among the smaller coal companies.

The regulations abolishing the system are now evaded by the simple means of putting those miners who do not trade at the company store to work in places where they cannot get out enough clean coal to make a living. Of course, the miners are "free" to trade where they please.

But why do the miners want more money? Strikes of the past have raised their pay about 26 per cent.

Inquiry brings out that the cost of household supplies in the region have increased in the same time between 40 and 50 per cent. Rents have gone up 40 per cent in Scranton in the past 15 years, according to the miners' figures, and they say the companies charge employes 75 per cent more for their household coal.

It is easy to see where the 26 per cent wage increase goes.

Mine jargon divides the miners into two classes—"pets" and "suckers."

The "pets"—who, the miners claim, are chosen for their loyalty to the union—get jobs at "robbing pillars," which means tearing out the solid masses of coal which are left standing till the last to hold up the roof. This enables the favored one to make \$75 or \$80 in two weeks.

* * *

"I want to fight!"

This is the answer I got from a hard coal miner to my question as to living conditions in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania. This man has been working



"NOONDAY NIGHT"

MINERS AT WORK IN "NATIONAL COLLIERY" NEAR SCRANTON

near Wilkesbarre and living in a company house 18 years. He has four children.

"What do you want to fight about?" I asked.

"For straight pay for every pound of coal I cut, instead of being docked a quarter or a half-car for a few fragments of rock in the coal."

The man who said he wanted to fight was in a saloon, drinking beer. I wondered whether to take him seriously. Then he invited me to his house. After ten minutes in that windy shack, let to him by his employers, I wondered why he didn't spend ALL his time in the saloon! He was a very sober fellow.

The liquor question is made much of in that district. Some of the miners' union organizers told me a crusade against alcohol is strongly backed by mine operators every time there is a threat of labor troubles.



GOING TO WORK

"It's to give the men something to blame instead of the boss," said one. "The operators pick any movement that has a respectable look and back it up, trying to make the miners place their hopes there instead of in the union."

"Right now there is an evangelist going at it hammer and tongs, diverting the men's minds from the impending strike."

"What makes you think it has anything to do with the proposed mine trouble?" I asked.

"Because all the coal operators are footing the bills for the revivals."

The whole of life there seems to center around coal. Even the medical profession is not untouched. The compensation law of Pennsylvania requires the companies to pay the medical expenses of an injured miner to the extent of \$25. or for a major surgical operation, \$75.

The miner is to receive 50 per cent of his wages for the time he is incapac-

tated after the first 14 days.

Well, the companies hire the doctors, many of whom, the miners say, are so solicitous of their employers' interests as to declare the injured men capable of working at the end of the first 14 days, so he receives nothing.

But why are not these difficulties attended to by the conciliation board appointed for that purpose? They are—IN THE COURSE OF TIME. That is, a miner complains of injustice of treatment or unfair discharge and waits for a decision several months. When the decision finally comes, even tho it may declare him in the right, the miner generally receives no compensation for time lost.

It seems as tho all the machinery of law and agreement, built to protect the coal miners, either clogs or breaks down. He clings to the last reliance in which he has hope—the union.

Southern Folk-Poem

On off days, the working class men in the mountains of Tennessee sing this:

"The rain it rained and the wind it blew;
"The hail it hailed and snow it sned;
"And I was 400 miles from home."

"When I die, bury me deep;
"Tell all the gamblers I'm gone to sleep;
"Put a pair of bones in my right hand
"And I'll throw a seven in the promised land."

"I was drunk last night, my darlin';
"I was drunk the night before;
"But if you'll forgive me, my darlin',
"I'll never get drunk no more."

NATIONALISM, INTERNATIONALISM AND THE WAR

A View From England

By H. CARPENTER

THE question of the relations of Nationalism and Internationalism has occupied the attention of socialists and others during the war, and it is likely soon to become a burning question. There are mainly two schools of thought on this subject, those who hold that Nationalism and Internationalism are harmonious and complimentary, and those who hold that they are antagonistic and mutually exclusive. Immediate discussion in the light of the probable effects of the war is necessary, and it is with that object that the following is written.

During wartime the warring nations are more or less knit together by mutual self-sacrifice. The situation has been and is becoming ever more a competition between the workers of the belligerent countries. The workers of one group of allies are straining every nerve to produce more in the shape of munitions, guns, food, etc., than are the workers of the opposing group. This they all do in the name of nationalism and as a temporary necessity, which will disappear at the end of the war.

Once the war is over, it is thought that this fierce competition will cease and that they will be free to declare again for internationalism without foregoing the belief in their own nationality. It is this pleasant picture which I think to be wholly false. In my opinion there will be no reversion to "pre-war conditions."

We are now living in that phase of capitalism called Imperialism, with its accompanying fierce competition between nations (or rather empires) for markets and opportunities for overseas investments. This imperialism will receive a tremendous impetus from the war. What are likely to be the conditions during and after the conclusion of the war? These are discussed in the columns of the finan-

cial newspapers and every day in the columns of the *Times*, *Standard*, *Westminster Gazette* and *Morning Post* and in *Le Journal*, etc., in France. According to these papers there is to be a fierce and unrelenting financial and economic struggle between the allies and the Germanic powers. The *Morning Post* has an article on the "Coming Trade War" practically every day. Economic conferences of the allies are taking place, and tariff conflicts are being prepared: Britain has officially taken up this attitude by Mr. Runciman's declaration of economic war upon Germany, to be engaged in after peace. We have also the Trading With the Enemy Act, which is intended to operate during peace as well as during war. The Central powers are also preparing and have formed a Central European Economic Alliance. It will be the aim, therefore, of all the countries to put forward the whole of their available energy for the struggle. So will begin the War during Peace.

Now, all this cannot be without vital effect upon the international working class movement. The movement has to meet the fact of the new imperialism with its tremendously keener competition between the nations.

During the war a worker is called unpatriotic if he asks for higher wages, or if he resists the abrogation of trade union rules regarding restriction of output, working hours, or the introduction of cheap labor. In other words, any working class action which improves working class conditions as a consequence hampers the country in its fight with the enemy, and is therefore called unpatriotic. Economical production, from the national standpoint, means the worker producing the greatest value for the least subsistence that is consistent with his continued

and efficient existence as a worker. This has been the case in all the countries at war. The French workers, who have allowed this process to go on practically without protest, are held up as models of patriotism to the British workers, who have made some resistance to this process of self-abrogation.

In the coming economic war the victory will go to that nation or nations which produces goods most economically, consistently with efficiency. The two factors in production are technique and labor. In the days of peace to come, along with the increasing keenness in competition will go a practical equality in technical opportunities and conditions between the nations. This has come about through the gradual catching up to the older industrial countries of the newer countries in the last few years. Previously some countries, by reason of their superiority in this direction have not had to put so much pressure as others upon the other factor in the cost of production, labor. With the practical equality in technique and the increasing intensity in national competition will come increasing pressure on the worker in order to decrease the cost of labor, and therefore, of the cost of commodities. Decreasing the cost of labor, whether it be by the introduction of women's labor, speeding up, or by any other means consistent with efficiency, will be one of the chief methods of the future economic competition between the nations. The cry of "unpatriotic workers" will therefore not cease with the war. It will become "unpatriotic" to ask for increases in wages, or in any way to ask for those things which improve working conditions, but increase the cost of production during peace as it now is during war. Restriction of output, and strikes will probably meet with the greatest denunciation, for it is just because these are the most powerful weapons by which the workers maintain or improve their conditions, that they will be a serious impediment to any nation which tolerates them. Warning voices have already been raised on this point.

The following are examples of tendency of thought in progressive British capitalist circles. Mr. W. H. Cowan,

M. P., a well known business man and manufacturer, says the following in an article on the "Problem of the British Worker" in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 1st Feb., 1916: "As a first step towards increasing our manufacturing productivity as a nation, we must consider the productive capacity of the worker, and the steps which may be taken wherever necessary to remove any restrictions upon it which may exist. First among the considerations that enter into this subject is the physical strength of the worker and his power of enduring prolonged exertion. * * * Trade unionism must be re-educated, and in the development of British business the trade unions must be called into close cooperation. * * * If the labor of the worker is restricted the amount paid for that labor can only have the effect of adding to the cost of the article. In engaging in any kind of international competition, almost the most important consideration is to be able to offer the foreign consumer a cheaper article than can be produced by rival countries."

Let us agree that trade unionism must be re-educated altho on lines quite different than will suit our worthy capitalist! Another big business man, S. J. Waring, says the following: "There is every ground to hope that the future good sense of the working classes and of their leaders will bring them to realize that in this age of international competition a country can only maintain a dominant position by remembering that our progress and position in the industrial and commercial world can only be maintained by being able to keep down the cost of production." Thus we have the challenge thrown down.

To assure against the future dangers to British capitalism in its international economic war, we shall certainly have an attempt to make compulsory arbitration, the illegality of strikes and conscription, which now exist as "temporary" war measures a permanent part of the industrial system. We also have "Compulsory Economy" and Mr. Asquith's "requests" to the workers not to ask for increases of wages.

What will be the position of the working class movement when this is the state

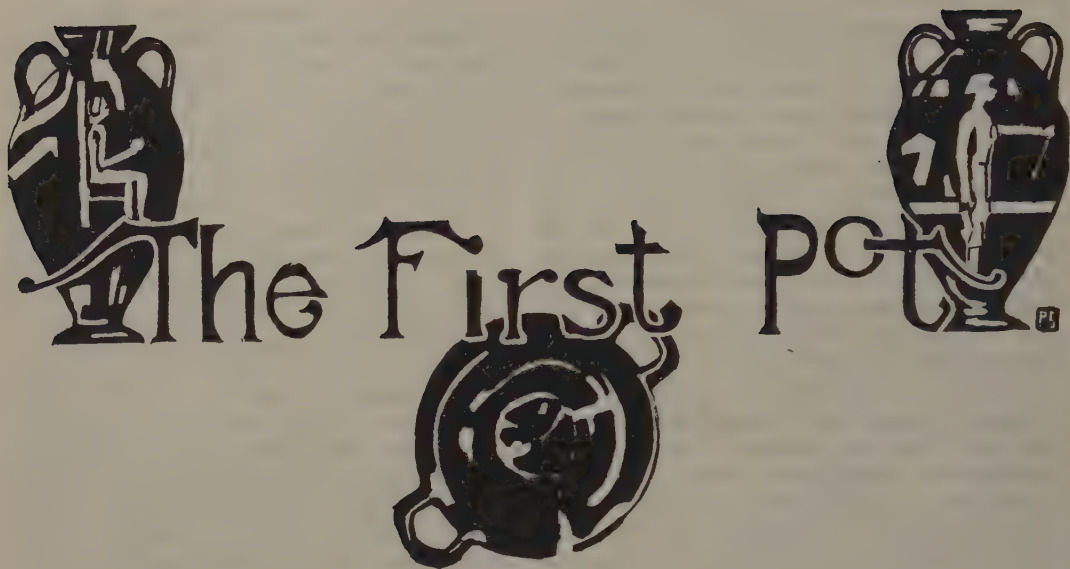
of affairs? It will have the choice between two courses. On the one hand it could, in each country, acquiesce in this cheapening of its labor and consequent decline in comfort and general standing as human beings. This course will be necessary if the nation is to maintain a "foremost position in the world." It will be the course of nationalism. It will be a choice, however, which would destroy all hopes of improvement of conditions, and strengthening of industrial organizations. By destroying the *raison d'être* of the workers' organizations it would destroy the movement itself. There will be great temptations to adopt this course, however, for the whole of nationalistic feeling will point that way. It will be argued that any improvement in conditions finally reacts against the workers by allowing the "foreigner" to capture the trade. We can trust the politicians to find plenty of arguments to seduce the worker into this line of action. They can, and always do, find such arguments.

On the other hand, the working class movement in each country could challenge these encroachments upon its standard of existence and aim at an ever-increasing standard, forced by means of its own organization. This is the method by which alone it can develop and strengthen itself. Experience has shown that it is only by struggle that a vigorous and living movement can take the place of a nominally organized but inert mass. It is also the only road that can lead to Socialism. This course can only be adopted, however, if the workers decline to regard the economic supremacy of their "own" country as more important than the strength and development of their organizations. It will involve an ever-increasing resistance to the produc-

tion of cheap commodities, and as such a continual exposure to the charge that such action weakens the nation's position in the world market. Further, it will necessitate a trust in the despised "foreign" worker to adopt organization for the improvement of conditions, for it will only be by a corresponding "unpatriotic" action upon their part that the threatened capture of trade will not take place. This course, therefore, leads directly to anti-nationalism and Internationalism. The latter necessitates the former.

We have, in the past, mostly conceived the choice between Nationalism and Internationalism as being one made by deliberation according to our theories of Socialism. It seems, however, from the foregoing that the adoption of Internationalism and Anti-Nationalism will be a sheer necessity imposed by the conditions which will exist after the war. The only alternative will be the death of the movement. Internationalism will for the first time appear as a practical policy, and cease to be merely a pious aspiration.

Of course, the issue of the future will not be clear and frank as it is here put. If it were, of course, victory would be certain, as victory would always be certain in working class questions if the issues were clearly cut. But as before, the question will be befogged by side issues and political and economic poison-gas of all kinds. The sugaring of social pills will become even a finer art than has been attained in the past under the direction, in England, of Mr. Lloyd-George. We can trust the capitalist class to reach the last word in this particular department of government. I hope we can also trust the workers to refuse to be tempted.



STORIES OF THE CAVE PEOPLE

By Mary E. Marcy

SOMETIME before the Cave People discovered the use of the bow and arrow, they had learned to make clay pots or bowls. For many years the tribe lived in the tropical lands where the bread fruit ripened nearly the whole year round, and where nuts were plentiful and tubers and sweet yams were often to be found; where there were more nests than there were trees in the forests, filled with treasures of fresh eggs; and there were fowl and fish. As much as the horde loved to eat the wild duck or the cocoanut, or even the wild honey, one and all knew that when the hot sun beat down upon bare brown skins in the heat of the day during the summer there was nothing in all the valley so sweet as a drink of water.

One could go without food for many suns, but if one day passed without fresh water for the members of the group, fevers came upon them, the strange fevers that caused them to do many foolish things.

At first no member of the tribe willingly journeyed far from the source of fresh water, for they had nothing with which to carry water from one place to another. Then they used cocoanut shells, and some-

times the shells that lay upon the banks of the great river. But these held little and were easily upset.

Then some one discovered that the hollow joints of the giant bamboo were more easy to carry and held more water, and these became the first water jugs of the clan.

Later, when it became the fashion for men and women to decorate themselves with the skins of the animals they had slain, they found that there are many uses which hides may serve.

The cave people wore no clothes, but bound over their shoulders they bore great weights of skins and hides, of heads and tails, of bones and teeth, as a mark of their skill and bravery in the hunt. Great teeth cunningly fastened together made necklaces that spoke every day more loudly than a man's voice of what that man had done.

But as pride grew in these emblems of prowess, little by little the people of the tribe began to use these hides for other things. They found that, with holes punched along the edges, thru which a thong might be drawn, as a gathering string about a handbag, these skins made water bags that one could carry on a far journey,

taking with him drink for a whole day. But it was only when the sun beat down like the flames of the fire that they thought much on these things. Then thoughts of water and the milk of the cocoanut were never long absent.

It was at the time of the year when the scorching rays of the summer sun had licked dry all the little brooks and most of the springs that Laughing Boy and Web Toe, he who could outswim the fastest fishes, planned an excursion over the hills in search of wild honey.

They were 14 years old and stood straight and brown and almost as tall as the men of the tribe, but they had not yet learned to have care for all the dangers that lurked in the unknown ways, as older men.

They were proud of the wild skins that lay hot and heavy on their shoulders and the teeth that made chains about their throats. They were never done showing the trophies they had gathered in the hunt to their young companions. And they boasted much, for they were more strong than the other boys of the clan.

Laughing Boy was proud of his water bag which, when the thong was tightly drawn and the bag was filled with water, spilled scarcely a single drop, while Web Toe beat much of the time upon his drum or tom-tom which he believed made the most beautiful music in the world. This tom-tom he had made by stretching the soft skin of some small animal over a willow branch bent and fastened in a circle.

The older members of the tribe were stretched in the cooling shade near the river bank, or sleeping the sleep that comes from much eating in the cool of the caves. But the children and the youths romped about, vying with each other in games of sport and in feats of strength. Among these Web Toe and Laughing Boy were easily the victors, throwing their boomerangs and their stone weapons further and with greater accuracy than any of the others.

Laughing Boy had now smeared his whole chest with the deep vermilion juice of "the Make Brave" plant and Web Toe had gouged holes in both ears, from which hung half a dozen shells and cougar teeth and they strutted about in the glory of their strength and budding manhood.

But at last they stole away from the others and softly made their way thru the thicket and on up and over the hill to the

high places, where the dry grass crackled and rustled beneath their scurrying feet. Laughing and chattering they ran, flinging care and caution to the winds, racing to see which would be the quicker to reach this point or that, and again speeding on to make the giant banyan trees.

Here they paused to rest and to laugh softly, and the cunning of all wood creatures came back to their straggling senses and they proceeded cautiously, chattering more softly and laughing more quietly.

Laughing Boy carried his stone weapon and his water bag, which bulged with ample fullness, while Web Toe brandished his tom-tom in one hand and his stone sling in the other. Only now he made not a sound with his beloved music box. It was a time to avoid the creatures of the forest, tho all were sleepy and lazy from abundant food and the warmth of the sun.

They jabbered of the "sweet, sweet," meaning wild honey, which they meant to take back to the tribe and with which they intended to show the other youths how much more clever and courageous they were than the other boys in the clan.

With every gay and confident step as they advanced up the small plateau the land grew more parched. Laughing Boy, who saw things that escaped the eyes of Web Toe, pointed to little hollows now and then which had been dried by the sun, and when Web Toe, soon grown thirsty, sought to take his bag for a drink, Laughing Boy shook his head. "No," he said, and pointed to the sun high overhead. He meant to save the water for the journey onward.

Berries they ate and nuts gathered hastily on the way, and when they neared the tall cocoanut palms both boys, forgetting the dangers that might beset them, dashed their heavy weapons to the ground and rushed forward. In a few moments both were encircling the straight, tall trunks of the trees with their arms and, climbing up them in a sort of walk, their toes pressed close and almost clinging to the bark. Soon the great nuts were tumbling to the ground and the boys slid back to refresh themselves with the sweet of cocoanut milk.

But the thicket parted and an angry and suspicious black she-bear lumbered toward them with two curious, tumbling black cubs at her heels. It was no time to dispute for the possession of their weapons. It was not the time to pause for a drink of cocoa-

nut milk, and so, with a pretense at nonchalance, as tho they had seen nothing and had no concern in the two rollicking cubs, Laughing Boy and Web Toe glided toward the thicket. They knew that females of every species are eager to contest the right of all ways when accompanied by their young. And their courage lay with their stone weapons.

The black bear sniffed angrily and slowly followed the boys. Her little red eyes rolled wickedly. The two curious cubs dashed on ahead to learn what manner of beast these new animals were. And mother bruin quickened her pace.

Her heart was running over with fears for her young and she considered that particular part of the woods her own domain. A deep humming filled the ears of the boys as they broke into a run and Laughing Boy cried softly, "sweet, sweet," for he smelled wild honey.

The cubs ran still faster for they remembered the feasts they had enjoyed when, guided by their mother, they had last visited the wood. With the old bear close behind, Laughing Boy flung himself out and upward, grasping the tough vines of the "oo-oe" in his hands and pulling himself up on a large stone slab, where he lay panting for breath.

Web Toe scrambled up a slim pine and wedged himself between two slender forked limbs. There he huddled, peering about in fear of new dangers. But he saw nothing and, presently, grown bolder he looked down at the bear which stood on hind legs gazing angrily up at him. Now and then she would run away and dash back, jolting the tree and setting the branches a-quiver.

Web Toe forgot all caution and jeered down at the enemy. He pulled his tom-tom around and over his shoulder and beat it triumphantly with his fists while the black bear tried to climb the tree and failed, because it was slender of trunk.

Laughing Boy lay on the smooth boulder, flat upon his belly, making no sound. Not a muscle betrayed him. Only his eyes moved following the movements of the black bear. Apparently she had forgotten all about him.

He wanted to call out to Web Toe to be silent. Web Toe seemed to think the matter was a joke, but Laughing Boy knew better. It was true he and Web Toe were at the moment safely out of reach of the enemy's claws, but if she remained on

watch how would they get down to earth again?

All that afternoon Web Toe was compelled to cling to the fork of the pine tree. Soon he grew quiet, for he remembered that safety lies in silence. He folded his arms about a branch and made himself as flat and inconspicuous as he could.

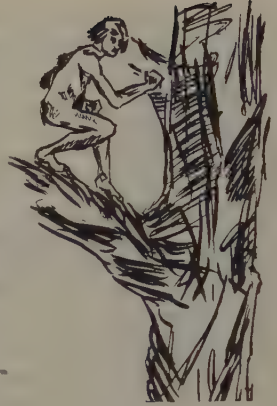
The cubs curled themselves up at their mother's feet and went to sleep and, at length, close to the pine tree, she also seemed to doze.

It might have been possible for Laughing Boy to slide down the opposite side of the boulder and steal away unnoticed. Who can say? It may have been a fear of the long journey back to the cave people alone that deterred him. Anyway, he clung to the rock and waited. A long drink from his water bag relieved his thirst and he, too, fell asleep. But there was no drinking for poor Web Toe. He had only his marvelous tom-tom in place of a water bag, and his lips grew parched and he longed to scream from fear and thirst.

After a long time darkness came and at last the moon arose, and still the two boys neither moved nor spoke. The cubs awoke and stretched themselves and moved about, and at last the black bear arose also and led them away to some hidden spring known only to herself.

Then, very cautiously, Web Toe slid to the ground and called to Laughing Boy, who joined him, and together, with great fear in their hearts, they turned their faces homeward.

And all that fearful, weary way Web Toe thought of new dangers



and of cool springs and Laughing Boy's emptied water bag. Never again would he go honey-hunting or any other sort of hunting in the dry season without water at his side. And when at last they reached the dwelling place of the tribe Web Toe ran to the spring and threw himself into the water and drank until he was near water-logged.

And so Web Toe became the great waterman of the tribe—another great waterman, who spoke always words of warning of the terrible things that may befall boys and girls and men and women, who journey far from the spring without a bag of water.

Stories he told the people of the tribe on his return with Laughing Boy of how, sick of thirst, he had faced the black bear and driven her before him. But he had nothing to prove his words, for Laughing Boy returned also empty-handed.

It was adventures like this that taught the Cave People and all the other tribes to travel close to the water's edge. And so it was that when the Foolish One made the first clay pot, the people praised him and called him Wise.

The clay pot was the accident of a fool. Many great discoveries have been the accidents of other fools. For wise people do always everything as nearly as possible as their fathers have done and new things are only learned thru departures into new ways.

The Foolish One had discovered the use of fire by playing with a burning branch ignited by the lightning in the forest. A fool bestrode the first wild horse and rode upon its back. Nearly always it was the fools who did things first. Wise Men were too wise—they had seen too many fools die of their folly.

The fingers of the Foolish One were never idle. He made many things and he

pulled as many to pieces again. The people of the tribe had grown very skillful in weaving baskets from tough grasses. They even made hats to keep out the sun and later they wove willows into rude roofs, which they patched with clay from the river banks to keep out the rain.

The baskets which they made were almost water-tight and the Foolish One made many baskets. Each time he worked harder and wove these baskets more tightly, but they all leaked when he filled them with water from the spring.

One day he made a basket shaped like a bowl and lined it with clay; then he wove the grasses upward like the neck of a large bottle, dipping his fingers inside to plaster it with more clay, for he wanted to surprise the folk with a basket that would carry water without leaking. But when all was done he forgot his plans and went swimming in a pool, and when next he saw the basket he tossed it into the fire, so sure was he that it would leak as all baskets leaked.

And there, in the red flames, beheld by all the members of the tribe, lay the marvelous basket with its clay lining. And soon the grasses of the basket burned away and when the fire died down the Foolish One saw the clay lining lying among the coals. It was round and firm and almost perfect in shape. He peered into it and running to the river, filled it with water. And, marvel of marvels! the clay had grown hard in the fire and the first jug the tribe had ever made or seen or dreamed of, held water, from which there leaked not one single drop.

For a long time the Cave People made their jugs by lining baskets with clay and burning off the grasses, leaving the jugs unmarred, till they learned newer and better ways of making pottery.





THE STATE

By Robert Holder

AMONG the many problems which the present war has brought into being, there are none claiming more attention, or monopolizing so much space in both the Capitalist and the so-called Socialist press, than the functions of the State, and the duties the people owe to it. In my opinion this question of the State and the relations of Labor towards it is one which will be thrust upon the Trade Union movement in the very near future, and the sooner the rank and file make themselves acquainted with the origin and functions of the States, the more competent will they be to deal with the question when it arises.

The conditions arising out of the war have brought about the interference of the State in spheres of our social life which were previously undreamt of. Leading articles in *The Times* advocate Government control of industry, and the suspension of ordinary business relations, because "in the face of the supreme competition which this war is, the other domestic competition loses all virtue and becomes a curse." In short, what is good in times of peace becomes a curse in times of war and *vice versa*. There was also an interesting article in *The Daily News and Leader*, August 29th, 1914, entitled "The Shipwreck," by A. G. G., in which the writer declared that "the individual has gone under. There is only one life—the life of the States—that concerns us." Further, we find members of the Labor party appointed to and accepting State positions, and Trade Unions suspending their rules and customs in industry. In fact, it is being generally advocated that everybody should become "servants of the States," and if people will not submit voluntarily, then compulsory measures are recommended.

When we see all this commotion in high places it behooves the rank and file of the Labor movement to inquire very carefully into this "life of the State," which has suddenly become so precious as to require the co-operation of everybody to save it. More especially should the rank and file be on their guard when we consider such a significant passage as the following, which appeared in the leading article of *The Times*, June 14th, 1915. "Employers should become managers of the State, and workmen should feel that they are really industrial soldiers in the service of the State for war purposes. The militant side of Trade Unionism disappears with the abolition of spoils to fight over, *but without prejudice to its restoration when the spoils reappear.*" (Italics mine.)

All this goes to prove a keen desire on the part of the Capitalist press for the suspension of the struggle between Capital and Labor, in order that this "life of the State" may be saved; but it also proves something else, viz., that the "life of the State" is not the life of the working class, because in the first place the conditions of their lives are still ignored (except in so far as they compel attention by means of their organized strength), and secondly, the old struggle of trade unionism for a better existence for the workers is to reappear once the "life of the State" is out of danger. But this fact of there being two lives—the "life of the State" and the life of the working class, contradicts the popular view of the State being the people, the nation, the community, etc.

In order to solve this contradiction, it is necessary to inquire into the origin of the State, and to discover how it arrived at its present capitalist form. Of course, one

can only deal very briefly with this in the space of a short article. History shows us that the institution known as the State has not always existed. People have been so long accustomed to the political form of society that they never think of the existence of a previous form. Mankind originally were wholly dependent—the same as undomesticated animals—on Nature for food, but in the course of time man gradually began to rise above this animal basis of existence; first, by means of the discovery of fire, then the bow and arrow, until finally after a long period of time he attained to the level of agriculture and the domestication of animals. This early life of mankind is known as Primitive Communism, and the first form of social organization of which we have any definite knowledge is Gentile society. It corresponds to a material condition where a definitely settled life had not commenced. The unit of this society was the Gens, which consisted of a number of individuals bound together by ties of kinship, and tracing their descent from a common ancestor (whereas the unit of modern political society is the private monogamic family). No matter how elementary the social organization, representatives would be necessary, but in Gentile society men and women lived on a basis of equality, and they all participated in the election of their representatives, who if they did not render satisfaction could also be deposed by them. Thus we see Gentile society was a pure democracy based on the common ownership of the means of securing food and shelter. Where all rule nobody rules.

With still further development in the means of obtaining food, population increased; the various tribes began to jostle each other for space, finally leading to war and the plundering of one tribe by another. Agriculture and the domestication of animals enabled the social groups to produce more than was necessary for their immediate wants, and with the manufacture of iron and the invention of the phonetic alphabet, all the principal elements necessary for the development of civilization were at hand; they needed only to be further extended, but to carry forward these developments was more than the untrained barbarians were prepared to voluntarily undertake. To get over this difficulty coercion was necessary, and coercion of the most ruthless character was employed. The first

social group reached the point where it produced a surplus product above its immediate requirements, trading sprang up, and the possibility of a leisured class who could live on this surplus presented itself. This possibility became an actuality, and we get one section of society living upon the labor of the others. Thus slavery as a social institution was established, the communal basis of kinship with its Gentile form of organization and its equality of social relations being superseded by slavery with its political form and the domination of man by man.

The leisured class required some means whereby it could maintain its rule, and these means were established in the form of the State. The public offices of Gentile society were converted into private powers of the ruling minority, who used these powers to keep the dispossessed members in subjection. We are now in a position to see the difference between Gentile society controlled by the social group, and modern political society governed by a centralized body called the State. Political society is based on territory and property relations; individuals vote according to where they are domiciled. The women and a large number of the adult males have no part in the election of representatives, and the State powers are separated from the control of the social group. We find that it is with the appearance of a leisured class who live on the surplus product of the social group, and thereby convert it into their private property, that the social institution known as the State appears. Private property and the State go hand in hand. By means of the State, the ruling minority, through their monopoly of the social product, dominate the whole social group. There have been three main epochs in the evolution of the State:

1. Ancient civilization—based on slavery.
2. Feudalism of the Middle Ages—based on serfdom.
3. Capitalism—based on wage-labor.

All these epochs have something in common and also their own peculiarities. One general characteristic is the presence of inequalities within the social organism, and of institutions for preserving these inequalities; this function is known today as "the maintenance of law and order." The ruling minority not only use the State powers to maintain their position within the social

group, as is seen whenever Labor makes a fight for a better share of the "spoils," but they also use the army and navy to obtain spoils outside their own particular group, in the form of colonies and a larger share of trade on the world market. This all goes to prove that the State is nothing more than the private power of the ruling minority, disguised as the public power of the whole nation, and it follows that this "life of the State" which is monopolizing the attention of the press, and the majority of the so-called Socialists of Europe, according to the respective State under whose rule they happen to be living, is nothing more than the life of the ruling minorities of the respective European nations, which they have endan-

gered through their mutual competition for "the spoils" of the world market.

In deciding what the attitude of Labor and Socialist movement should be towards the State, it is essential to remember that the State with its political form of society has not always existed, that it only came into existence under certain conditions at a specific stage in human development; from which it follows that it will disappear again at another stage when conditions make its existence no longer necessary. In the words of Thomas Carlyle, "we must some day, at last and for ever, cross the line between Nonsense and Common Sense; from Political Government to Industrial Administration."—*From Plebs Magazine.*

Fallacy of Government Ownership

By F. EPH

IS government ownership a step towards Socialism, or is it a step away from Socialism? With the historical data we have on hand regarding the foundation and rise of the political state with its function of keeping down class conflicts, such a question ought not to be pertinent among Socialists. But it happens to be the barrier that stands in the way of a constructive program of Socialism. On the answer to this question will depend the form of working class organization and their tactics. If government ownership leads to Socialism, then the working class political party is all sufficient; if it does not, then the greatest strength lies in the industrial organization of the working class, with the political party as a shield.

To Socialists there can be only one answer to this question and that is, that government ownership, or political ownership of any kind, is not a step towards Socialism, but will be used by the ruling class to keep the proletariat in the chains of wage slavery. Of course, not all the ruling class are anxious for government ownership, because it may mean the elimination of some of them, but sooner than get off the backs of the working class, they will turn the reins of production over to the government. This will happen when the organized proletariat

becomes too rebellious to be held in check by private ownership, when private property is in danger of being overthrown.

It will not be enough to answer this by saying that if we have Socialists in the political offices that they can utilize the ownership by the government as a stepping stone to Socialism. Can the Socialists use a class government, a government that is the result of class antagonisms, to further the cause of the revolutionary proletariat? The men holding the political offices do not represent the power behind the government. That class in society that holds the reins of economic power also holds the reins of political power. Can we without a force capable of coping with that class on the industrial field institute Socialism by going behind their backs via the government ownership route? Experience will prove that without that force our political representatives will be blown away like chaff by the capitalist class. Leave that class secure in their ownership and they can laugh at the puny batterings on the fort of capitalism by the political party.

The Socialists only reason for capturing the political offices is to use them at present as a public rostrum of agitation, and to finally abolish them, they being unnecessary with the working class in the ownership of

the means of production. The function of the political party is destructive, while the function of the industrial organization is constructive. The very nature of the present class state makes it impossible that it become constructive. Its function is the reconciliation of classes, while the purpose of Socialism is to abolish classes. The instituting of government ownership does not abolish classes, rather it keeps the capitalist class secure in their exploitation, and perpetuates a class society.

Has, for instance, the government ownership of the post office department taken the postal employes out of the category of wage slaves? Far from it. It has intensified their wage slavery by keeping them in abject subjection. It has been a paternal despotism and the government would crush its slaves under the iron heel if they rebel, as I could show you by numerous illustrations. The government slaves seek reforms from Congress. They get some of them. The department heads interpret these as they see fit, and introduce a few "reforms" of their own. And then the government slaves wait another year and try to get Congress to nullify the "reforms" of the department heads. Well, the same old story is gone over year after year, with the department holding the whip hand, to which fact the government slaves never get wise.

Have any of you Socialists agitators ever noticed how conservative the government employes are? Did you ever stop to consider why? If despotism does not breed rebellion it breeds servility. And the government slaves are in a condition of servility that the capitalist class would like to get the rest of the working class bound in the same way. If other groups of workers are put under government ownership or control it will have the same effect. The nature of man's condition is reflected in his actions. Government ownership breeds conservatism, reactionism.

The old argument of the cheap method of production carried on by the government

will not stand the test of Socialist economics; that is, scientific economics. The wages of the working class are determined by the amount necessary for their subsistence. Wages represent the value of their labor power. Now if the cheap production of the government were carried on, on a larger scale it would not materially benefit the workers; all it would do would be to cheapen the value of their labor power. Cheaper subsistence for the working class means cheaper wages for them. The keen competition of the labor market would regulate that.

All these various government ownership and municipal ownership reforms do not benefit the working class. They eat the life out of the Socialist movement, they paralyze the working class, they dissipate all their energy in wild goose chases that do not help the cause of Socialism one iota. They allow a few intellectuals to cherish the hope that some day they can sit at the political trough thru the gullibility of the rank and file.

Socialism stands for working class ownership, collective ownership, anything less than that is a compromise. And Liebnick said that compromise is a sign of weakness. Socialists have nothing in common with the capitalist class, but the government ownershipists have. Government ownership and capitalism are not mutually antagonistic, but Socialism and capitalism are.

If the working class are forced to accept government ownership it means the rule of the iron heel, the end of what few liberties we have today, and the complete subjection of the working class. We are strong when we stand for nothing less than Socialism. Then we can make real headway, then we can gain the confidence of the working class. Socialism is the same the world over and any injection of reforms becloud the real issue that confronts the working class, and that issue is the uncompromising surrender of the capitalist class and the ushering in of economic freedom—of Socialism.





THE WAYS OF THE ANT

By Frankenthal Y. Weissenburg

THE ants belong to the same group of insects as the bees, wasps, sawflies and others.

Everyone is familiar with ants; they invade all lands and regions, from the dry deserts to the damp forest, from the timberline of mountains to the lowest valleys and among the dwellings and habitations of man. They seem to thrive in all kinds of environment and multiply enormously, so that they outnumber all other terrestrial animals.

Many insects never see their young, others may see them, but do not care for them; others, like the bees and wasps, put food into the gaping mouths of their babies, but have no further association with them. The ants, however, stand alone among insects in their very intimate relations with their progeny, from the egg to the adult. They are constantly transferring their young from one part of their nest to another in search for the right degree of moisture and temperature. In the warm part of the day the young will be transferred near the surface, but at night they will be carried down again away from the cool air. The adults are continuously cleaning the young, caring for the eggs to prevent mold from growing on them, helping the callow ants to emerge from their cocoons, bringing food, cleaning, enlarging and reconstructing the nest, and doing thousands of things to contribute to the comfort, growth and happiness of the community.

Like the honey bee, ants are social; that is, they live in colonies or communities, where every individual ant works for the good of the whole and not for itself alone. In other words, they have adopted the principle of co-operation; instead of working *against* their fellow-beings, they work *with* them. A colony of ants furnishes an illus-

tration of a more perfect communistic society than any ever established by man and perhaps a more amicable one than any he will ever be able to organize.

Some of the many ant species operate dairy farms, some do their own cereal raising, while others are still in the capitalistic state and are slave-holders.

The cows of the ant people are represented by little insects called aphids (plant lice), which suck the juices of plants and, on account of their great numbers, often cause considerable damage. They secrete a sweet liquid known as honey-dew, of which the ants are very fond.

It is interesting to watch the ants collecting the honey-dew from the aphids. An ant approaches a louse and gently stroking the latter with its feelers the aphid exudes a drop of sweet material, which is quickly gathered up by the ant. After this has been repeated several times the ant hurries down the stem of the plant to bring its sweet load to the nest.

In order to get the best results and to secure a good number of milk-cows, the ants collect the eggs of the aphid in the fall, carry them into their own nests and care for them during the winter. In the spring the newly-hatched aphid-calves are carried by the dairy ants to good pastures, such as willows, rose trees, cabbage plants, etc. The ants are rather persistent in pursuing their work and overcome many difficulties put in their way by man. So, if the owner of a weeping willow tries to protect his tree by painting a ring of coal-tar around its stem, the ants undo his attempt by building a road of little earth crumbs over it.

Various kinds of ants milk various kinds of aphids and thus we see amongst ants a creature kept and used regularly for a

certain purpose, like domestic animals are among ourselves, and this, as far as we know, is unique in the animal world.

Many observations have been offered to show that there is also a most intimate relation between ants and many kinds of plants. A number of plants not only offer special inducements to attract ants to them by affording favorable nesting places, but also offer the ants delectable food in the way of sweet floral nectar. In return for the domiciles and the food, the ants are supposed to protect their plant-hosts from certain insects and other animal enemies; their relationship is therefore one of mutual benefit.

The harvesting ants not only gather grain planted by man, but do also their own sowing and, like a thrifty, provident farmer, make suitable and timely arrangements for the changing seasons. In the spring they select a fitting space near their habitation which is cleared of all obstructions and the surface leveled and smoothed to the distance of three or four feet from the colony. Having planted the grain, the ants tend and cultivate it with constant care, cutting away all other grasses and weeds that may spring up amongst it; also all outside of the farm circle to the extent of one or two feet more. The cultivated grass grows splendidly and produces a heavy crop of small, white, flinty seeds which, under the microscope, very closely resemble rice. When ripe it is carefully harvested, the seeds are carried into the granary cells and the straw is thrown beyond the limits of the farming district. When the grain gets wet in the store, the ants bring it out to expose it to the sun and bite off the sprouts where they appear. Some species bake also bread, thus conserving their supply of grain more securely. The grain is chewed up by the ants and small, flat pies made, which are left in the sun's rays to bake.

Ant-slaves are ants themselves, tho they belong to another species than their masters. The latter raid the nests of their weaker neighbors and carry off the larvæ and pupæ, which afterwards they hatch out in their own nests. These ants are therefore born into slavery and it is nowhere recorded that ants capture grown-up slaves. The born slaves are not ill-used by their masters, but treated in every respect as well as tho they belonged to the community in which they have been born; they do not even seem

to realize that they are outsiders. The motive of this kind of slave-holding appears to be the wish to get additional help in order to make the community more powerful.

There are, however, some species of slave-making ants that are accustomed to do only a certain amount of work for themselves, while others even have to be fed, and are often carried by their slaves. The latter, of course, do also all the regular household work, feeding the young, bringing food to the nest and so forth.

When Huber, the great observer of ants and bees, placed thirty specimens of this latter kind of slave-making ants in a box, with some of their larvæ and pupæ and a supply of honey, but without any slaves, more than one-half of them died of hunger in less than two days. The others were languid and without strength and appeared not able to do anything, considering their condition. Huber at length gave them a slave. This individual, unassisted, established order, formed a chamber in the earth, gathered together the larvæ, extricated several young ants that were ready to quit the condition of pupæ and preserved the life of the remaining masters.

In honor of the ant race it must be said that this way of managing their affairs is an exception. In general they are true to the principle, "One for all; all for one." The bible-word that, "Who does not work shall not eat," is strictly carried out by them. The great scientist, Buchner, considered this latter attitude a selfish one. If this be the right adjective, then we must invent a new one for the behavior of the slave-holding ants.

Nowhere in the ant world do we find conditions like they are in our own capitalistic world today. Where a small minority holds in mental and physical bondage, abuses and exploits without mercy a tremendous majority of the human species.

While comparing the ways of the ants with our own, we must not forget that the former cannot make use of tools and machinery and yet they secure wonderful results. What could they achieve in co-operative ways if they had steel as hard as millions of their fists, lungs as strong as a railroad steam engine and shoulders as large as ocean vessels?

In case a part of the ants habitation has been destroyed by an outside cause, there

is not a clique that first considers whether it will bring enough profits to reconstruct the damaged part, without regard that a great number may be without shelter and a good deal of the larvæ be exposed to cold. Or, if the summer was particularly good for collecting supplies and the grain harvest is also a heavy one, there is not a bunch of idlers that corner the so-called "wheat market" in order to make more profits.

We cannot learn from the ants how to make profits, but rather see how well everything runs, when everyone works for the common good and no profits are made. All in all, we must hide our faces from a small creature that we often crush under our feet.

But let us return to another interesting species, the foraging ants of such tropical countries as Brazil and western equatorial Africa. In the latter country these are also called "driver-ants," because when setting out on their invading marches they drive every living thing before them, from the elephant to the smallest insect, including man. They build no houses or nests of any kind and carry nothing away, but eat all their prey on the spot. It is their habit to march thru the forests in a long regular line about two inches broad and often several miles in length. If they come to a place where there are no trees to shelter them from the sun, whose heat they cannot bear, they immediately build underground tunnels through which the whole army passes

in columns to the forest beyond. When they grow hungry, the long file spreads itself through the forest in a front line and attacks and devours all it overtakes with a fury that is quite irresistible. Every animal that lives in their line is chased. The lion and gorilla fly before this attack and the black men run for their lives. The snake, after having killed its prey by crushnig it in the great folds of his body, leaves it lying on the ground and does not return until, having made a circle of a mile or more in diameter around the body, it is assured that no ant-army is on the march. Only then it dares to swallow its prey and risk the dangerous period of sluggish inactivity which is necessitated by the process of digestion.

When the driver-ants enter a house they make a clean sweep. Cockroaches are devoured in an instant. Rats and mice spring around in the room in vain. An overwhelming force of ants kill a strong rat in less than a minute and a few minutes later its bones are stripped. In this way the huts of the natives are freed from the vermin several times a year.

Concluding, we may add that the ancients were already keen observers and admirers of ants, of which the following bible passage by Solomon gives evidence:

"Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways and be wise; which, having no guide, overseer or ruler provideth her meat in the summer and gathereth her food in the harvest."





REMOVING THE FIBRE FROM LEAF STALKS

The Making of Binder Twine

By J. B. F. CURTIS

FARMERS in America doubtless will recall that binder twine as a staple article of commerce had its beginnings along about 1880. Experiments with machines which bound grain with twine began several years before that; a few twine binders were successfully operated.

From the beginning of these experiments twines of various kinds were utilized, principally consisting of small cords composed of two or more strands and made from Kentucky or other soft fibres. It was very difficult to secure binder twine of the proper quality. Naturally the first experiments were made with types of twine and cord then in use, but it was found that something more than strength and uniformity of size was required for use with the successful binder. In order to work well on the knotter, the twine must possess a firmness or coarseness in order to strip from the hook

after the knot is formed. It was found that a very soft twine which was strong enough to do the work would cling so tenaciously to the knotter hook that when the bundle was discharged the twine would break instead of stripping off the hook.

William Deering was one of the first to make field experiments with the twine binder. The question of twine suitable for this work was found to be difficult of solution. Nevertheless Mr. Deering went ahead manufacturing twine binders while he devoted much attention to finding a practicable binder twine.

A manila rope was untwisted and strands used and it was decided that if the rope yarn could be spun small enough a successful twine would be the result. A manufacturer of manila rope was persuaded to try spinning the rope yarn to half its usual thickness. It was discovered that this made an admirable twine for use in the bind-



BUNDLES OF SISAL LEAVES.

ers. The binder twine sales now amount to over \$20,000,000 annually in the United States.

Manila fibre at this time commanded a high price, and sisal, which had begun to interest rope makers, was attracting attention, and was much cheaper. The sisal strands were shorter than the manila strands, but after some machinery adjustments the manufacturers were able to produce a perfect sisal binder twine. Manila binder twine is still used, altho sisal has usually been able to command the market, owing to its low price. A satisfactory fibre was discovered in New Zealand, but it does not possess the lasting qualities of manila and sisal.

The manila fibre of commerce is the product of a plant or tree found in the Philippine Islands, which country alone produces that plant. Efforts to cultivate it in other countries have so far failed. So that America is compelled to look to the Philippines for her necessary supplies of this fiber, which is most important in the manufacture of rope and many other forms of cordage.

The manila plant is identical in general appearance with the banana tree. The trunk consists of a cluster of from twelve to twenty leaf stalks which spread out into a crown of huge leaves rising to a height of from 12 to 25 feet. These leaf stalks overlap each other and grow together so tightly

as to give the appearance of a solid trunk from six to twelve feet in height. It is from these stalks or layers that the fibre is extracted and not, as many have supposed, from the leaves. The manila plant does not thrive outside the volcanic zone. Volcanic ash appears to be its natural home. It is cultivated in the Philippine Islands with great success on the sides of mountains and hills.

There are a few large manila plantations, but the great bulk of the fibre is produced from small parcels of ground cleared out of the jungle, frequently containing five or six acres and often less. The land is largely owned by wealthy merchants who arrange with the natives to work these small tracts of abaca. One man may own a large number of these small fields of cultivated ground. The native usually takes care of the field, strips the fibre on shares and receives one-half of what he produces.

The work is still done in a very crude manner, with tools of the most primitive sort. The principal article of equipment is a heavy steel knife from twelve to sixteen inches in length. The handle acts as a lever and is fitted into a fulcrum at the inner end of the handle near where it connects with the steel knife. A piece of very hard mahogany wood is made to exactly fit the edge of the knife. This block is placed on the top of a convenient log or section of a large



DRYING MANILA FIBRE

bamboo tree. To this same log is fastened the fulcrum in which the knife is operated. As a rule the edge of the knife is provided with notches like saw teeth. The edge of the knife is held down on the hardwood block by a spring pole which is connected with the other end of the handle by a thong, the amount of tension on the knife being regulated by the size of the pole.

When the strip or layer from the plant is drawn under the knife only the fibre is pulled thru; the pulp and skin of the strip being scraped loose from the fibre, fall in front of the knife. The strip is usually held more easily by the operator by the use of a small stick of hardwood around which the strip is wound. A reverse movement is necessary in order to clean the end originally held.

The operator places the cleaned fibre on a convenient pole, from which it is taken by the women and children and spread out over bamboo poles in an open spot where the sun dries it in a few hours. The work of cutting the plants, separating the strips and carrying the strips to the apparatus above described, is usually performed by the workman's wife and children, who also spread the fibre and gather it after it is dried.

Frequently the distance to the field, or laté, to the village is so great that the fibre stripper and his family leave the village

and remain in the laté for two, three or four days at a time. They improvise temporary shelter from branches of palm trees and the leaves of the manila plant. The machinery of production is so easy to carry about that only a small number of trees are cleaned on one spot. The raw material is not brought to the worker; the worker goes to the raw material. The average day's work for an expert stripper is about twenty-five pounds.

Large prizes have been offered to inventors for the production of a machine that would clean manila fibre, but none has reached a point where general introduction is possible.

The native men are of cheerful and kindly disposition, who marry and nearly always raise a large family of children. The man is neither cruel nor arbitrary. At the beginning of his domestic career he builds a typical Philippine native dwelling. The wants of the natives are few. A very small amount of cotton cloth provides clothing for the entire family. In many instances the women manufacture fabrics from which a large part of their clothing is made. These fabrics are made from either very fine manila fibres, or from the fibre of the pineapple plant.

Fish is the principal article of food and is abundant and as free as the air; rice, which they buy, and fruit, of which there is



PREPARING THE FIBRE FOR SPINNING.

always a plenty. The natives raise hogs and chickens, but these are considered articles of luxury. It is claimed that fibre strippers can secure all the wants of themselves and family by working three or four hours a week. As they pay no rent and very little for food and clothing, and have neither gas nor coal bills to pay, they are perfectly content to lay up nothing for a rainy day, which seldom comes.

Sisal Fibre

The plant from which sisal fibre is produced is known in Yucatan as henequen. It comes of a species which, when transplanted to our greenhouses are usually called century plants. Plants resembling sisal have frequently been found in tropical countries, but it has always transpired that they grow too rapidly to produce the necessary tensile strength and that they die while comparatively young, necessitating the frequent and very expensive renewal of plants. Yucatan produces a very large proportion of sisal fibre that reaches our markets.

The northern part of the peninsula is a flat, low country, barely twenty-five feet above sea level and is a solid ledge of lima rock, originally of coral formation. In its natural condition the whole surface is covered with a jungle growth of tropical woods

and plants ranging in height from ten to thirty feet. This jungle is cut and the wood burned in order to prepare the land for planting. After the land is cleared, sisal plants of two years' growth, previously started in nurseries, are set out—1,000 plants to the acre. There is no further cultivation necessary except the occasional cutting of the undergrowth, which is usually cut twice a year.

In about three years, when the plants reach maturity, the cutting of leaves begins. Only the under or mature leaves are taken. It is possible to cut from twelve to twenty leaves from each plant. The leaves average a little less than two pounds in weight.

There is no particular harvest time; on the contrary leaves are cut every week in the year. Each leaf is handled individually, first cut from the plant, then the spines removed from the edge of the leaf, then the leaves packed in bundles of about fifty and carried to the edge of the plantation or to the nearest tramway.

From there they are conveyed to the cleaning plant, which is centrally located on each plantation. There the leaves are put thru the cleaning machine at the rate of about 3,000 per hour. The fibre, after it leaves the machine, is carried into the drying yards and is spread on galvanized wire where it dries and bleaches in the sun, after which it is gathered and taken into the warehouse, where it is pressed into bales in the same form in which it reaches the mills.

It is startling to realize the immense amount of human labor embodied in a hundred pounds of sisal. When this fact is considered, it would seem that sisal sells for a very low price on the market. Binder twine has to be sold cheap to the farmers. It is evident that sisal can only be successfully manufactured when the plants are raised in a country or countries where wages are a very negligible quantity. It can now only be carried on, the fibre can only be profitably raised, in undeveloped, tropical countries where living is very simple, very cheap and where natives can be procured for very little outlay. The population of Yucatan is not great and wages are certainly not attractive to immigrants. Every laborer is employed. These natives are the Maya Indians, the descendants of an aboriginal race which has left behind it proofs of a higher type of civilization than was found in other parts of the western



WINDING TWINE INTO BALLS

hemisphere, possibly excepting the Inca Indians.

The natives are amiable, cleanly and capable. The plantations are usually large and somewhat isolated on account of their size. The plantation consists of several thousand acres of land, only a part of which is cultivated. The buildings are usually situated in the center of the plantation. On the larger plantations there are usually several hundred families of natives.

Usually the manager of the plantation is the local magistrate, and this clothes him with authority. The planter permits the workers to work small plots of land to raise their own food.

There is a law which prevents a workman from leaving his employer while in debt, and this law, if construed and manipulated to the disadvantage of the workmen, could easily make slaves of the men.

The best machinery has been installed in the cleaning and pressing plants. Thousands of miles of narrow gauge tramways have been laid thru the plantations, making the transportation of leaves economical. Everything possible has been done to get the greatest possible results from the limited amount of labor at their command.

In 1886 it was seen that the manufacturers of twine binders would have to manufacture binder twine. The machine depended upon the necessary accessory, and several plants were erected within the next few years. Mr. Deering was one of the first to erect a mill. Manila and sisal were the fibres used most extensively from the beginning, it having been discovered that certain promising twines were entirely consumed by grasshoppers and other insects.

Doubtless few of us realize how important a product binder twine is today. If no harvesting machines were manufactured for a whole year, the farming community would, undoubtedly, be put to some inconvenience, but would manage to get along without serious loss. On the other hand, if the supply of twine for one harvest were suddenly to be cut off, it would mean not simply a national, but an international calamity, as it would be impossible to secure men enough to gather the crops.

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How to Build Up the Socialist Movement

Roscoe A. Fillmore

THIS is the query on the lips of many today. We can't down it and to deny the facts when we know there is something "out of kilter" is not the part of wisdom. We must face the issue. We, whose merciless criticism of the shams and hypocrisies of modern society has become proverbial, must pluck from our vitals the cancer that is threatening our further existence as a working class movement. To do so, as we have numberless times said of the evils of modern society, we must get at the root of the trouble, the basic cause. When we have located the cause we must "cut it out," regardless of how many reputations are smashed and members or voters lost.

We used to point with pride to the enormous organization to which we belonged. Even though many of us felt forebodings when we noted the various symptoms of reform politics, compromise and mushroom growth in many countries yet we stilled the doubt and exulted in the apparent growing spirit of revolt among the workers. We shut our eyes to the facts just as a large number of comrades are still doing.

Then came July and August, 1914, and our enormous organization of slaves went down like a house of cards. Founded as we claimed on Internationalism our "Internationalists" flew at each others' throats in true cave man fashion at the behest of the same masters against whom they had organized to fight. Something was wrong and terribly wrong with our Internationalism. What and where is and was the trouble?

Some say with many flourishes that the Germans alone are responsible—that outside Germany the International still exists, while the Germans tell us that the Socialists of the world sprung at their throats and they are compelled to fight in self-defense. Others see Socialism spring into "power" as the result of victory for England or Germany, according as their sympathies lie. And so the wrangling goes on to the infinite amusement and profit of the master class. For while we slaves do the fighting and suffering, the masters of all

countries wax fat at our expense. They are particularly jubilant today for they have laid the spectre that has for long years haunted them—the solidarity of the workers of the world. And, ye gods! the old slogan of racial and national hatreds without the redeeming feature of a single original idea or catch cry has been sufficient.

So complicated has the situation become; so many and divers are the opinions expressed pro and con that the squib anent the farmer who for the first time saw an elephant is applicable to the Socialist party in most countries. "There ain't no such thing." True, there is an alleged party collecting dues and sending out "organizers," many of whom are absolutely guiltless of any knowledge of Socialism and are put on the platform merely because they have big reputations and can "lead" the slaves. How many of them can elucidate clearly the Marxian law of value and thus show the worker just where the robbery takes place? How many have digested "Value, Price and Profit" or "Socialism, Utopia to Science"? How many of them could take the platform against a good capitalist economist and hold their own? A very small percentage, if we are to judge by the slush that is their stock in trade. If it's sentiment that we want the workers to learn, then these fellows have the goods, but sound economics—never.

The Socialist press is very largely filled with articles that attempt to prove Germany a large size edition of hell, and Russia the fountain of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, or vice versa. England and France, we are told, are the world's democracies, or, perhaps I should say, the world's second best, the "good old U. S. A.," of course, leading the parade. While we are reading this cheery news a four-line item over in the advertising matter informs us that all militant anti-militarists in France were clapped in the democratic French prisons the moment war was declared, where a good many of them still languish. The British, not to be outdone in the good work of democracy, suppress all periodicals that refuse to bow to Kitchener and the war office; tie the workers in actual peonage in the munition factories; make a dead letter of the few

privileges, the workers have won by a century of industrial fights and finally sends an army of conscripts to the field to fight for "God, Liberty and the H'Empire." Russia quite suddenly becomes one of the hopes of the world democracy, having exported, we are led to believe, all her un-democratic institutions to the lands of her allies and the United States, where they are being used with unvarying success from Ludlow and Paint Creek to Salt Lake City and Youngstown. The movement is wasting precious time trying to prove one or the other of the combatants the guardian of all our liberties—whatever they may be—and Socialist education is forgotten.

The fact of the matter is, whether we like it or not, that we have brought with us into the movement many of our old concepts, our old ideas, relics of the days when we believed in heavenly spooks. We look to *leaders* to free us. And we have been and *now* are preyed upon by an ever increasing number of middle-class sentimental asses who have imbibed of Plato, Ruskin, Emerson, Carlyle, Bellamy and Tolstoy and mistaken their mouthings for revolutionary shibboleths. These people are well meaning in most cases. This is, however, immaterial. *Results*, and naught else, count. And the one result of their activities is confusion and more confusion.

We have had lots of these people on this side the imaginary line, and our first precaution has always been to get them on the *outside* of the party and *keep* them there. Only on the outside are they *harmless*.

These are the people who spend precious time proving the post office and Panama canal Socialist enterprises. From this type come suggestions that the class struggle, that impregnable fortress of the revolutionary workers, be dropped as obsolete, because, presumably, it is unpopular in the drawing rooms of the ultra respectable middle class. In the next breath they tell us that Socialism is appealing to the middle class far more than to the slaves, which is another way of saying that the class struggle *has* been dropped at least from the propaganda they have carried on. To be brief, they would sugarcoat the pill so effectually that the masters might some day step down gracefully and fall in line!!! We are getting yards of this sort of thing in a supposedly Socialist press.

Why doesn't Socialism appeal to the

workers? I reply—it does when propagated. But it is seldom propagated and almost never by these disciples of the old bourgeois philosophers. In fact many of them are continuously doing all possible to emasculate the revolutionary work that is being done by a worker here and there. It is they who, after joining the organization and pledging themselves to support none but S. P. candidates, at once begin to agitate for the breaking down of the pledge and insist that they be allowed to vote for "Progressive," Labor or other "red herring" candidates. It is they who agitate for a union of the S. P. with the radical and reform elements, for "something now." It is they who are so busy today apologizing for the "war-socialists" of Europe. And last, but not least, they are but the counterparts of David, Sudekum, Vandervelde, Semat, Guesde, Hyndman and the rest of the traitorous bunch across the water. They are but paving the way for a complete casting aside of Socialist principles and are prepared to step down, in the event of the United States becoming involved, and say, as did their European fellows—"We don't believe in war, but now that the H'Empire is in danger we must do our bit for our country."

Since the above lines were written several months ago they have been proven right up to the hilt by the appearance on the platform of a number of "Socialist Leaders" advocating "Preparedness." And, as in Europe, they can go the masters one better when they start. The danger of us losing "our" country was never so fully expatiated upon by the Navy League. And many even of those who are opposing preparedness are doing so from the usual slushy, sentimental motives—preparedness means war, they say, and "somebody might get killed, don't y' know." What the hell do we care about the killings in war? Aren't we killed in droves and armies every year in industry, and just as unnecessarily as in war. Aren't the police forces of New York and many other cities on this continent being drilled in the use of machine guns to mow down those who have escaped the railway smashes and mine and powder mill explosions and feel the spirit of revolt stirring? Killings are as common as cabbages in peace as well as in war. We workers who are in revolt object to war because it makes us pawns, puppets, cannon-fodder at the pleasure of the class we hate. We do

not object to the killings on moral grounds. We know no morality but that of revolting slaves—the act or institution that injures our interests as workers is immoral—decidedly so. That which helps us in our fight is moral and right from our viewpoint.

We object to war because it undoes the work we have done very largely. It makes cave-men of the best of our class. It arouses the blood lust that is our heritage from savage, animal ancestors. And it will take us several generations to wipe out by education the racial and national hatreds between the workers of the countries involved that have been aroused to satisfy the masters' lust for profits. It is injuring our class and our chances of successful revolt for a long time to come. That's the reason we oppose war and the only argument that's worth a damn. The ordinary man in America doesn't care who is getting killed in Europe—superficially considered, it doesn't affect him—in fact, it has made business good. But show the American slaves that they will have their share of it to do to the glory and profit of their masters sooner or later if they leave those masters in the saddle and you are doing something against war, against preparedness, and helping to knock the underpinning from beneath the beast, Capital.

An ever-increasing number of us believe that the time has come for a house cleaning. The truth is the only salvation for the Socialist movement today. We must find the seat of the trouble and cut it out. Half-way measures are of no use. Mistaken ideas of gratitude will not save us. When we find a traitor he must do his dirty work on the *outside* from now on, whether he be a traitor from lack of knowledge or from the fact that he has secured a more elaborate meal ticket, and even though his work in the past has been good. Individuals don't count—*results* do. How are we to save the movement and make it a powerful weapon towards the freedom of the workers? There is very little, if any, excuse for its existence as at present constituted. Bryan or Roosevelt can make a far better job of the "something now" business than the hot air artists of the S. P. So what's to be done?

When all's said and done, the one function of the Socialist movement is to educate the workers. We don't know anything about

the coming revolution. It may come all-unexpectedly at the close of the war. If, as seems likely, the golden age for capitalism is yet to come as a result of the war, then the Social Revolution is perhaps a century in future—perhaps several of them. That is immaterial in so far as this discussion is concerned. Our function is to educate. Educate and then *educate* the workers. The revolution will come as the result of the growing inability of capitalism to provide us with the means of life coupled with the intelligence that we and those who come after us display in revolt. Without working class education, class rule can continue in some form or other indefinitely. It's up to us.

Peanut politics will not bring the revolution. Can you imagine a Hillquit or a Stitt Wilson precipitating the revolution! Peanut politics will play a more contemptible part every day as the revolution progresses. The efforts of middle-class reformers to win to power on the back of an unenlightened and uneducated so-called Socialist movement will spread confusion. We hear talk of "winning" this or that state for Socialism next year or the year after. Australia and New Zealand were "won" for Socialism of the same brand some years ago and today they are as loud in their jingoism and their "love of the H'Empire" as any other people. They are forcing conscripts to go to Europe to fight for the capitalists of Britain. The so-called "Socialist" or Labor government is, of course, a capitalist slave driver, as are all other governments, past, present or to come.

As these "Socialists" win small political battles by stultifying Socialism, their opposition to the real, sound propaganda becomes more pronounced. They have tasted of the sweets of office and are unalterably opposed to any line of action that will lose votes and thus hurl them from the honey pot. We have even now reached this stage of the game. The professional office seekers are coming our way. They will swamp us. Indeed they already have.

We are at the parting of the ways. We can go on, and even though we be but a few, carry on the propaganda of the class struggle and thus perform our function as revolting slaves bent upon winning our freedom, or we may by leaving the class struggle and its solid footing become a bunch of crawling worms overjoyed at being allowed

to gather a few of the political crumbs that fall from our masters' table. In Europe the majority decided on the latter course. They had very little time to consider when the matter came up for decision. *We* are better off than they. *We can see the blunder they made and avoid it if we are wise.*

Those who are made for office, those who want "something now" should get into the Bull Moose, W. C. T. U., or Associated Charities. They are mis-fits in a real Socialist movement and if they don't see this for themselves, well, they should be *shown*. Ours is not a Socialist movement while this element is in the saddle. They will ride the party to hell for the sake of a single tax reform. If they must make a noise let them line up *outside*, where their disorganizing propensities are harmless.

Revolution will never come as the result of the election of a mayor in Podunk or a whole gross of them. Political campaigns are mighty handy—they get the crowd—therefore, we are on the right tack when we get out, put up candidates and force those standard bearers to point out to the workers their slave position and the *only* remedy, *working-class ownership* of the means of life. While we confine our efforts to this sort of work, which is not spectacular and will not get us office for some time to come, we are performing our function as grave diggers to capitalism. Every slave who is persuaded to think of his position is another grave digger. We will have an organization that will be a strong nucleus for the workers to rally around when "The Day" dawns. The man who is caught by high sounding and meaningless oratory is not dependable. He will help us to roll up a big vote today and tomorrow if the Bull Moose offers a little better line of guff, he, of course, is caught. In the meantime we have only fooled ourselves.

Peanut politics is a strictly capitalist game. Even though we had something to win in the game—which we haven't—all authorities to the contrary notwithstanding—we couldn't win for we don't know the game. The masters and their henchmen have us beaten to a frazzle—and then some. The efforts of even the best of the "Progressive and Constructive" socialist politicians on this continent are pitiful in the extreme when compared with the work of a Roosevelt or a Bryan.

Some day a desperate worker will throw

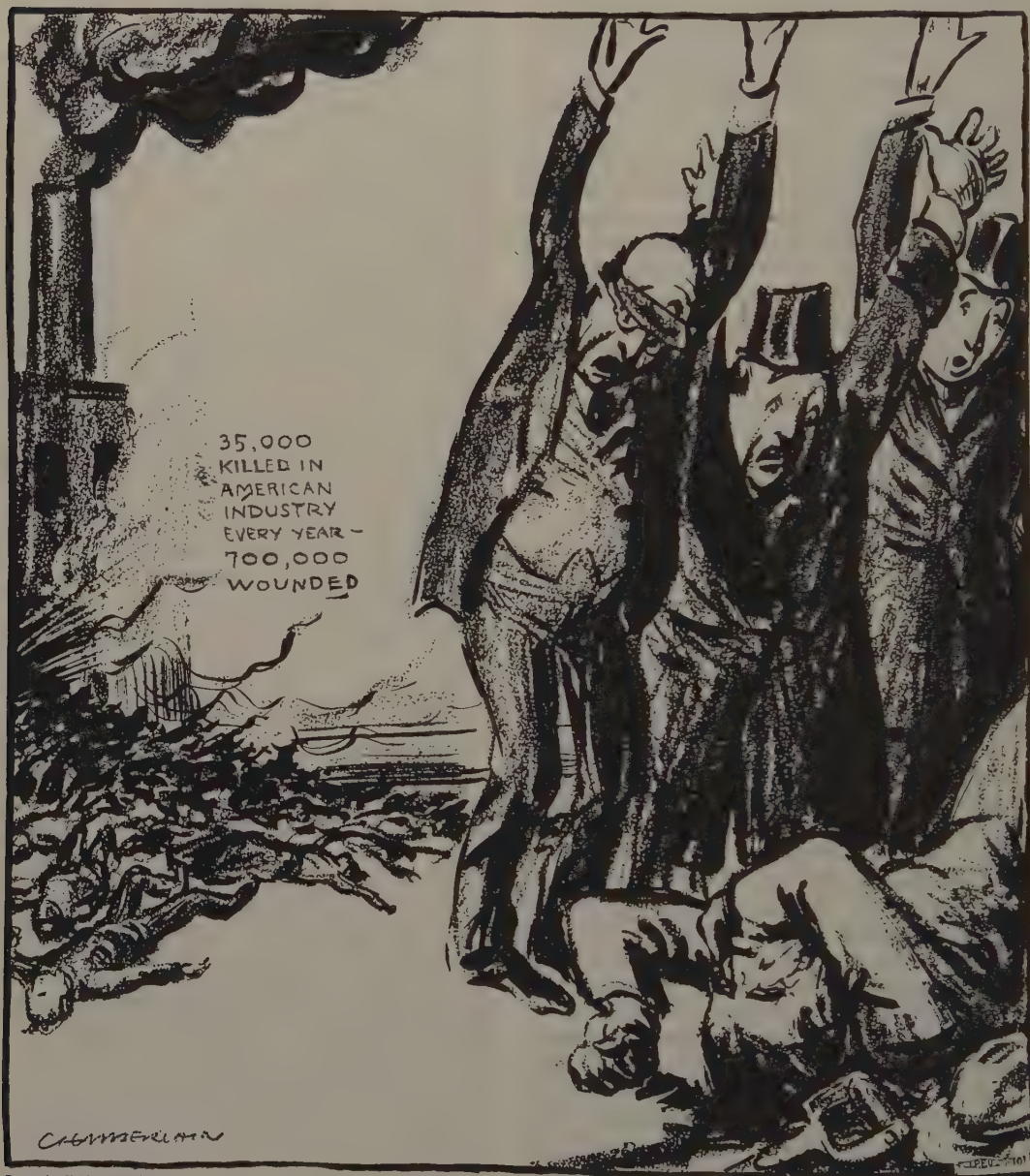
a brick at the gunman who is trying to crack his head and the Revolution will be on. Then where will be our peanut politicians who have "won" for socialism in the Podunk municipal council; where will be our schemes for the catching of votes, our bids for the support of all the quack reformers and fakirs of present day politics; our constant juggling and re-juggling of obsolete platforms and policies to hoodwink the workers that they may be "led" easily? Where then will we find the elements who announce in sonorous phrase from the public platform their willingness to "die for the cause of the working clawses?" The affair in Europe points the way. They will desert like rats from a sinking ship.

The "Statesmen," the "Constructive" politicians, the noted individuals, all these and many more will be found in the camp of the enemy. For the Revolution is not going to be respectable, my friends. When it comes as come it will eventually—the slaves are going to do the job—not the fellows with the well manicured hands and the roll of capitalist ethics but the mud sills. Only they possess the incentive. They are going to be utterly devoid of respect for Law, Religion and Morality as at present taught. Those who then stand in the way must take the consequences. For it is a law of nature that "They may take who have the power and they may keep who can." We, the workers, when we have learned to exercise our brains in our own interests as we have developed our brawn in the service of our masters, will be able to take and enjoy all the good things we have produced so abundantly. Preparedness? Yes—preparedness to carry on and to a successful conclusion the class war—the war of the workers vs. the shirkers. In that war we must eliminate all the useless elements, all that acts as a drag upon us, we must scrape the barnacles off.

Words of praise from the henchmen of the master-class for our peanut politicians and their antics are becoming more frequent every day. *When the masters praise us there is something wrong with our work from a working-class point of view. They joy in seeing the workers deluded for therein lies their (the masters') safety.* If we would carry on the class war successfully lets, for a start, cut out all in our platforms, policies and tactics that the masters

can, by any manner of means, find reason to praise. (*The master's fear class education of the workers. Class education is our key*

to the mastery of the world we have made. Let's use it and refuse all substitutes. The world for the workers—and soon.



Drawn by K. R. Chamberlain.

From *The Masses*.

PATRIOTISM

The Editor, the Munition Maker and the Investor: "Outrage! American Killed in Mexico! War!"

HOW TO FIGHT ON THE JOB

THE REVIEW is constantly receiving letters from the men in the conservative *Railroad Brotherhoods* and other obsolete trade unions, asking how to go to work to wake up the men to the necessity of organizing into an *Industrial Union*.

Every rebel wants to make his educational work as effective as possible. He wants to send home the new ideas and point out new methods of warfare for the working class, so that they will count in the struggles of labor against capital.

Above all things we need to remember that no man can win a fight against the railroad corporations or the steel owners or the mine operators *alone*; and if he were able, such a fight would not mean much of a victory to the working class. To accomplish anything, we need *education, organization and numbers*. The first need, which it is up to the Man on the Job to supply, is *education*.

Every rebel, every class conscious worker in the old craft union must become a propagandist, an agitator for socialism and industrial unionism, an educator. And the best place in the world for agitation and educational work is *on the job*. A railway engineer, who has been railroading all his life, and has belonged to his union, can do a lot more good for industrial unionism and socialism right on his run than he could by quitting his union and his job. His work throws him in touch with scores of other railroad men. Their defeats are his defeats; their needs his needs. When they are betrayed by high officials and petty officials, he, too, is betrayed, as long as he is on the job.

Here is an opportunity for him to point out how much money the men are wasting annually in paying high salaries to traitors; to show how arbitration has always worked out to the profit of the companies, and to point out what industrial unionism, organized industrial unionism, with every man working on the railroads and running the trains, in one union, means.

Most of us are willing to do the *big* things in the labor movement. We would

like to feel that we had been the instruments thru which the men or women in our line of work had become class conscious, had organized themselves into a working class union. But these things are not done by one man or one woman.

It is not talk alone, nor even books, that can make a workingman see the advantages of industrial unionism over sectional unionism. But it is talking to intelligent fellow workers on the job, and reading about these things and arguing about them and discussing them *in the light of things happening every month in the old craft unions*, that educates men.

You will find the brakeman who believes in arbitration changing his mind, if you keep after him and he sees himself and his comrades being betrayed thru arbitration year after year. And when he finds that the arbitrators, supposed to be representing the railroad men, has been appointed an officer by one of the inimical railroad companies, he will begin to see that the railroads are only rewarding a faithful servant of the *railroads*—that the union official has been representing the interests of the companies instead of the men whom he was appointed to serve.

The miners who understand socialism and industrial unionism know that time contracts work out to injure the miners. You can't always convince the man working in the shaft beside you by words, but when he goes out on strike, and when you go out on strike, and you show him that the miners in the next state or county are working double shifts to get out more coal (which will enable your bosses to hold out and defeat your strike), he will know that you are right.

Nearly all the old union papers and almost all officers will tell you that it is a good thing to have the mine operators collect the miners' union dues. It is a good thing for the mine owners. When they take the union dues out of the miners' pay envelopes and hand them over to the union officials, the mine owners expect some return from the union officials, and *they have always gotten it*.

Of course, the mine owners prefer to

have nothing at all to do with unions or union officials, but if there must be unionism, it is better for the mine owners to collect the dues and give them to the officials so that they (and your officials) can force you to stay in the kind of an organization that the mine owners want—that they can control thru the union officials.

Show the miners that the check-off merely means that the boss forces you to stay in the union and hands your money over to the union officials—for value to be received.

Union officials continue to sign up the miners' contracts whereby if they quit work without official endorsement, to go on strike, they can be blacklisted or fined, and when one group of miners goes on strike, the miners in a nearby point keep on working, so that the owner of the struck mine will not lose any profits or *any strikes*.

The check-off is a conspiracy of the mine owners and the union officials against the miners. Don't it look that way to you? Tell this to the man in the shaft beside you! And make him a propagandist for working class unionism, too.

There are a few deluded persons who imagine that the way to get industrial unionism (One Big Union) is to play union politics and put new men in the jobs of the present office-holders. These men do not believe in trusting things to the rank and file. They think they know better than Jim, or Tom or Harry what Jim and Tom and Harry ought to have. They don't think it is necessary to educate the rank and file. They believe they can join hands with a few other union men and grab the offices and then give you what you ought to have.

We believe every rebel unionist, every socialist and industrialist should attend his union meetings, should watch carefully the tricks that are being put across by the politicians, and to back up the officers who are really trying to serve the working class. You can make the floor of your union hall a platform for class unionism, the kind of unionism that puts all men into one great fighting organization and gives them a chance of victory when they fight the bosses.

Try to be as impersonal as possible, but point out to every member present just what is being done, and urge the matter of industrial union education, of buying socialist books and magazines for the union halls. Pick out the most intelligent men in the local and talk to them. Get them to thinking and reading and discussing conditions in the old craft unions.

We don't believe it is worth while to spend all your energies trying to play politics to put new men in the offices of the old ones. You do not want to trust to officials—not even yourselves. And remember that the man or men, who struggle for ten years to get an official position in a union, will have forgotten all about everything but the job by the time he gets it. All his talk in the union will *have to be on how to get office* instead of *how to secure a real fighting organization for the men*.

If you spend all your energies in planning and scheming for office, you will have no time for educational work, and the real rebel rarely has any chance for election anyway, because he is spotted at once as a disturber. Men high in office in the railroad brotherhoods, who serve the companies well and union officers who have made such a condition possible, will see to it that the rebel who looks for office quickly loses his job on the road.

And it would help very little to put a sprinkling of revolutionary men in the offices of the old craft unions. They would be *framed-up* and gotten out in short order unless they had a revolutionary rank and file to back them.

And a revolutionary rank and file would demand a real union. Real unionism does not mean *dividing* the workers into tens of hundreds of small isolated groups, each supporting half a dozen well paid officers, or more. Unionism means *union—one union*. Craft unionism means that the working class has been *divided* up instead of *united*.

Every organization that divides the workers, instead of uniting them, is an organization that benefits the capitalist class, because it helps to keep the workers separated into crafts, so that they cannot fight together, strike together, work together. It keeps the workers from

rushing together into great all-embracing industrial unions of each entire industry as they would do if there were no craft-dividing unions.

But we can't have industrial unionism just because you and I want it. A good many workingmen and women would want it, fight for it—and perhaps get it—today if they knew how. It should be our *big* task, our great work, to educate these men and to add them to the great army of rebels who will go out and get

new recruits during the coming months.

We suspect there are going to be some interesting and shameless new stunts pulled off in connection with the anthracite miners' and the railroad men's demand for more wages and a shorter workday. Keep your eyes open and show the men around you just how they will be flim-flammed again.

One place to educate and plan for working class organization—real class industrial unionism—is *on the job*.

LABOR NOTES

"After Youngstown—what?" is the question.

If nothing else was shown by the Youngstown flare-up, it did give an inkling of what a powerful drive the workers of one community can make against their masters if the proper events come along to touch off and set in motion the working class forces.

Complete and thoro organization of all steel and machinery workers of the United States into one big union is being advocated by steel and machinery workers who feel the possibilities in that industry.

They point to towns like Bethlehem, Gary, Youngstown, where a single corporation or set of interests controls the town.

In such towns craft lines have been wiped out to the extent that all the workers in the town have one master, one payroll. Whether they are puddlers and machinists, classified as "skilled" workers, or whether they are blast furnace and rolling mill men or punch press hands, rated as "unskilled," they are tied together by mutual interests actually closer than any bonds that existed between workers in the first days of old-fashioned craft unions.

One payroll for all of them and one payer for all the payees at these modern industrial centers of steel and machinery.

One high barb-wire fence surrounding the shop where they all work for wages.

One set of time-keepers, recording the

hours and wages to be entered on the payroll.

One row of gates and one huddle of roofs thru which they go to work and under which they go thru the motions specified by one central efficiency office.

So, why not one big union of all the steel and machinery workers in all the steel and machinery centers of the United States?

One master, one payroll, one high, barb-wire fence, one set of time-keepers and efficiency engineers, one set of gates and roofs, at Gary, Youngstown, Bethlehem.

Why not combat the centralized organization of the masters of steel and machinery with one central organization of all the workers in that industry into One Big Union?

Is there any fat-headed fool running loose anywhere who would deny that once such an organization was formed among the workers, it could enter demands for higher wages, shorter workday and better conditions—and enforce its demands?

Why not One Big Union of all the steel and machinery workers of the United States?

That speech of Matthew A. Schmidt is worth reading twice, keeping awhile and reading again. We live in an age when "bullcon" is glorified and bunkshooters get away with big bluffs. Here, though, was a real man, spurning freedom in the

sense that any man is free who is outside of prison.

Here he was, this Matthew Schmidt, practically opening the door, stepping into prison, closing the door of his own cell house.

Months and months the Burns' detectives and pussy-foots, agents and emissaries of all kinds, had tried to break his will, cow him, coax him, change his mind. It was no go.

He told the same story last as first. Burns and the pussy-foots and all their games and schemes were foiled.

He was charged with aiding in the murder of those who were killed in the explosion that wrecked the *Los Angeles Times* building. He explained to the court:

"I have said my case was not a murder case. No one really believes that it is. I want to give you some facts not brought out in the evidence. A few days after I arrived here from New York, Guy Biddinger, formerly a Burns man, came to me and asked why I did not get in and get some of the reward money. He said: 'They don't want you, nor do they want Kaplan. They want to hang T'vietmoe and Johannsen, and you can help them and then you will be free.'"

He pictured the very judge who was to sentence him. He showed the forces behind that judge. He discussed the Zeehandelaar letter, in which the manufacturers' association of Los Angeles is shown on signed admissions to have been active in extra-legal operations in drawing the grand jury to indict Schmidt. Of this the speaker said:

"Your Honor ruled that such a letter was not material to the case, nor could you well do otherwise. The forces back of my prosecution would have pulled you from this bench and besmirched your name even as they secured my conviction."

However, there wasn't much that was personal back of Schmidt's speech. All his references to himself are as though

he was a leaf in a storm, one wave in a great sea, one working class finger on millions of hands. Look at the poetry and the historical perspective in this:

"In the industries of this country more than 35,000 workers are killed and 700,000 injured each year—and all in the name of business. Who ever heard of a district attorney attempting to protect these victims or to obtain for them redress, unless, perchance, the employer happened to be a political enemy?"

"If for the moment we grant that all of the explosions recited here were caused by the iron workers, what do we find? For every ounce of steel, and for each broken bolt or rivet, I can show you a dozen lives snuffed out that profits might not be disturbed."

Here he was, facing life sentence to prison. And he turns with mingled sneers of contempt and feelings of pity for the people of the community sending him to prison:

"I understand the despair and horror that haunt the poor victims of the rotten industrial centers of the East. And I know the sacrifice made by their families and friends that they may bring their shattered lungs and wasted bodies to this land of balm and blossom, only to find that they must pay tribute to men who have capitalized their misfortune. It was almost wholly from this latter class of vultures that I was compelled to select a jury."

Great orations are spoken only on great occasions. Around the head and mouth of Matthew Schmidt when he stated cause why he should not be sentenced surged the vast forces of working class strife and desire for more of life.

If appeal is denied and "Schmiddy" goes to the California penitentiary as a "lifer," he will be remembered. Outside the fight will go on one way or another to spring the penitentiary doors and set free a hero who hates to hear anybody talk about heroes.





EDITORIAL



Benson and Kirkpatrick.—The referendum vote of the Socialist Party of America on candidates for President and Vice-President has resulted in the nomination of Allen L. Benson and George R. Kirkpatrick. The latter, widely known as the author of "War, What For?" has a long and honorable record as a Socialist teacher and agitator, dating

back to the days when such work offered but a precarious living even to the ablest speakers. He has from the start kept in constant touch with the real workers, the rank and file of the movement, and he is thoroughly grounded in Socialist theory. He is an effective speaker, and should make an ideal candidate. Comrade Benson, on the other hand, is almost an unknown quantity,

so far as party work is concerned. He first came into prominence some ten years ago, as editor of the *Detroit Times*, a reform newspaper. He is a clever and forceful writer, and soon after he became a party member, propaganda leaflets from his pen were circulated in immense quantities from the national office of the party. Since then he has become widely known thru his writings in *Pearson's Magazine* and the *Appeal to Reason*. To our mind, a serious defect in his propaganda has been a constant advocacy of "public ownership," with little insistence on the control by the workers of the conditions under which they work. That is to say, his appeal has been rather to the middle class than to the wage-workers. More recently, his writings have been almost wholly in opposition to war, and along this line he has done excellent work. Now, as our presidential nominee, he has a tremendous opportunity. He is a man of unquestionable ability, and we hope he will conduct this year's campaign in a way that will leave the Socialist Party stronger at its close.

The Road to Ruin.—Today "public ownership," with the owners of property owning the government, appeals to the immediate material interests of merely certain little capitalists who are being squeezed by the big ones. Tomorrow the big capitalists, themselves squeezed by competition from over the sea, are likely to fall in line for it. If the Socialist Party were to make "public ownership" the keynote of its propaganda, we might temporarily attract a million middle class voters, who would later desert, upon realizing that the old parties were going to do what we could only talk about. Meanwhile we should be losing the confidence of the wage-workers who want to control their working conditions, no

matter whether their "boss" is a capitalist corporation or a capitalist government. The issue of the future is the right to organize for workshop control. The road to ruin for the Socialist Party is to commit itself to an extension of the powers and functions of government without provision for control of working conditions by the workers. Its road to usefulness lies in close cooperation with all revolutionary industrial organizations, and in loyal support to such organizations in the intense struggle with state capitalism that is not far distant.

The Wastes of Competition.—This is a subject of which our propaganda in the past has had much to say. Our arguments were unanswerable, except in one way. The capitalists have found that way; they are stopping the wastes. It is in Europe, not here, that the biggest advance has been made, because in Europe the stress of necessity has been keenest. And this process of eliminating waste has not stopped and will not soon stop. Every day of war increases the burden of debt on the warring nations. It is becoming evident that this debt can never be paid by ordinary methods of raising revenue, and the only alternative to chaos will be the direct exploitation of labor by the European governments on a colossal scale. That is to say, State Capitalism is almost here as a result not of applied theories, but of economic necessity. When the war is over, and these highly organized industrial states enter the world market, how long will American capitalists be able to extract their customary rate of profit from the railways and the big industries of the United States? Is it not evident that they will soon have to call in the aid of their government to modernize their organization?





INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Dilution of British Labor. An important aspect of the war is summed up in this new term, "dilution." It doesn't mean that labor is to be diluted with rest, but rather that union laborers are to be diluted by an admixture of non-union. This is what the union men of England and Scotland have foreseen from the beginning. The fight against it is so important that I shall here go into the whole matter in some detail. Let all our war-patriots ponder the results of war in the labor world. Incidentally, it may be remarked, this new development has an important bearing on the status of craft unionism.

War affects the conditions of labor in various ways. First of all, hundreds of thousands of the youngest and strongest workers are rapidly withdrawn from the labor market. Their places in factory and mine are filled, so far as possible, by the hiring of other men not drawn to the field of battle. Some few of these may be equally skilled with those who have been removed. But the supply of highly skilled and efficient labor is soon exhausted. Then the unskilled or less skilled are pushed into the vacant places and rapidly given whatever training is necessary. Next, the women and children are called in and set to do all sorts of machine work. The skilled laborers who remain are given oversight over groups of these latter.

In the second place, there is a great shift in the nature of the national industries. There is less demand than in normal times for various sorts of luxuries.

But there is a sudden increase in the demand for arms, uniforms, military stores, etc. A factory hitherto devoted to the turning out of baby carriages is rapidly remodeled and turned to the manufacture of torpedoes or small arms. Some skilled workers find themselves suddenly unskilled. That is, they can no longer find places in which there is call for their particular sort of skill. So they must take whatever offers.

Now, according to craft union standards, English labor is the best organized in the world. The English unions are the oldest and the richest. They have, moreover, developed the most respectable and efficient leadership of a certain type. Their leaders are, for the most part, conservative enough in their outlook on life, but they have been long in positions of trust and they are perfectly able to stand up against English statesmen and capitalists and represent their case according to their lights.

Under war conditions the union members saw approaching the end of all the advantages they have been fighting a hundred years to achieve. Mr. W. Stewart, writing in the *Glasgow Forward* about the recent trade union Congress at Bristol, says: "The Bristol riots of 1831, more than any other event, determined the passing of the Reform Bill some months later. But that was a long time ago. * * * What a tremendous road we have traveled in a hundred years! It is marvelous! The working-class have, in a century of progress, turned a complete somersault, and have come down

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in the exact spot from which they started. Well, not the very exact spot, but a little behind it. They have got "conscription." This sort of reflection is going on everywhere in England, and with regard to many features of the labor situation.

And there is one aspect of the case which makes it particularly harrowing to the union officials. The ancient distinction between skilled and unskilled is rapidly fading. The fiction is that the operators of certain machines get their "good" wages because they have acquired a rare sort of skill. And now it is proposed to place day-laborers and girls at those sacred machines. The whole structure of unionism as built up through all these years has seemed to topple.

And there is no doubt that the danger to working-class conditions is a very real one. All experience leads the British workers to think that the common laborers and women set at the machines will be given the lowest possible wages. In fact, they are, in general, paid just about the sort of wages that common labor has received for years past. No one would be simple-minded enough to think that when the war is over these workers will be turned out and replaced by union men at union rates. This is just what caused the trouble when Lloyd George made his famous visit to Glasgow at Christmas time. He told the workers that the government loves them and will see that everything is set right again once peace has been declared. And those dour Scots told him they didn't believe a word of it!

It will be remembered that it was at Parkhead Forge that the Minister of Munitions was told some wholesome truths. And the speaker was a certain Mr. David Kirkwood, chairman of the shop stewards. It is a pleasure to record the fact that Mr. Kirkwood won his point. Following is his proposal on behalf of the men. This proposal was agreed to by the company and approved by the government.

Position of Parkhead Workers on Dilution

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Writes **Libby Culbertson MacDonald**, ex-President National Rationalist Association: "The whole world loves a lover, but it loves a laugh as well. You certainly give us a plenty to laugh at in the Life of Jehovah. . . . You have accomplished an Herculean task, for which humanity is grateful."

Says **Eugene V. Debs**: "It is a book unlike any other ever written about the mythical monster hailed as the great Jehovah in the dim ages of superstition's starless night, and still worshipped with blind idolatry by millions of priest-ridden victims of mental blindness and moral degeneration. . . . Your sense of humor, of the ludicrous, is in refreshing evidence, while your wonderful imaginative powers are given free rein and if your reader, however, void of the sense of the ridiculous, fails to chortle with merriment and alternately explode with laughter under the influence of your masterly ridicule, he is certainly a fit subject for the undertaker."

Walter Holloway, President Rationalist Association of North America, writes: "Besides having many a hearty laugh at the expense of the jungle god and his fantastic fellows, I find my knowledge of the times and conditions out of which the Bible grew, greatly increased. I never before so fully realized how much richer the 'holy' book would have been had the Talmudic and Apocryphal writings been included. What a pity God repudiated so much of his writings! . . . Friend Tichenor has more humor than Jehovah and has done us a service in restoring the discarded stories. We may now know God for the rare bird he really is."

Ex-Senator R. A. Dague of Iowa, Says: "I read this history of the life and exploits of Jehovah of the Old Testament with intense interest and keen amusement. The author is a naturally, gifted humorist and an expert in the use of sarcastic language. While he faithfully retells many of the exploits of Jehovah as given by the writers of the Bible, doing no injustice to the statements made by them, he puts the narrative in such words as to make the reader laugh until his sides are sore."

Says the noted writer and novelist, **George Allan England**: "Let me thank you and express my appreciation for the keen satire, cutting analysis and profound skill with which

you cut through the shams and errors of religious stupidity and bigotry in your 'Life of Jehovah.' Your trenchant pen dispels the darkness of ignorance as the sun puts to flight the owls and bats of night. More power to you, and a wider field to your labors!"

Martin L. Bunge, editor the Freidenker, Milwaukee, writes: "I have received and read the wonderful book by Henry M. Tichenor, the 'Life and Exploits of Jehovah,' and have recommended same to German Turners and Free-thinkers in 'Freidenker' of Feb. 13, 1916, and 'Amerikanische Turnzeitung.' I wish that millions may read this book and not only laugh about Jehovah's ignorance and awkwardness, but resolve that they will do all they can to liberate our civilization from the spectres of barbaric ages, from the fangs of organized superstition and systematized hypocrisy."

Dr. T. J. Bowles, of Muncie, Ind., writes: "I wish I knew what to say to the American people about your Life and Exploits of Jehovah, but all the languages of all the tribes of all the nations of the earth do not contain words to express my appreciation of this most valuable work of all the centuries. Voltaire and Thomas Paine were among the greatest benefactors of the human race, and achieved immortality by emancipating civilized men from the worship of crucified saviors, holy books and divine revelations, but your book will completely emancipate all rational men from the tyrant in the sky who has poisoned all the fountains and springs of life."

The publisher of the book, **Phil Wagner**, of St. Louis, backed by years of experience and criticism, says:

"I have been in the publishing business a good many years and I believe I know a good thing when I see it, and Tichenor's 'Life of Jehovah' certainly takes its place in the front ranks of the world's most classic works of satire. I do not hesitate to predict that it will be read and enjoyed and laughed over by generations to come, and, I believe, is destined to free more brains from the chains of priestcraft and superstition than any work hitherto produced. Where others have disputed and denied, the author of the 'Life of Jehovah' simply satirizes; he uses caustic rather than logic; Jehovah, as he puts it himself, is 'laughed out of court.'"

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Our suspicion that under the cloak of patriotism cheap labor will slip in arises from the fact that, naturally, cheap labor is welcomed by employers.

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2. That a committee appointed by the skilled workers be accepted by the employers, with power to see that this arrangement is loyally carried out. Failing agreement between employer and the committee, the matter to be referred to a final tribunal, mutually arranged, or, failing agreement, appointed by Board of Trade.

3. That a record of all past and present changes in practice be handed to the convener of shop stewards and by him remitted to the district office, to be retained for future reference.

4. That all skilled and semi-skilled men who were engaged at the engineering trade in the service of the firm immediately prior to the war be granted a certificate to that effect.

5. No alteration shall take place in this scheme unless and until due notice is given to the workmen concerned and the procedure followed as prescribed by Clause 7 of Schedule II of the Munitions of War Act, 1915.

The principle underlying all of this is that workers are to be paid, not in accordance with their classification as skilled or unskilled, but according to the amount of work they turn out. The scale of the skilled, reckoned not by the day, but by the amount of product, is to be applied to all.

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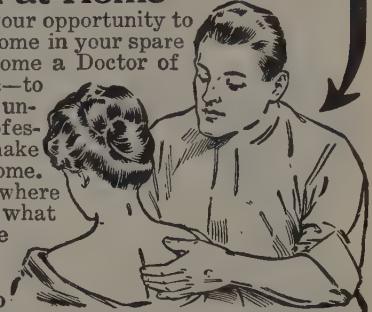
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of large concerns at Newcastle-on-Tyne. The following articles of this scheme are designed to protect the men against reductions in wages.

Wage Provisions at Newcastle-on-Tyne

1. Where semi-skilled or unskilled labor is employed on work identical with that undertaken by skilled labor, the time rates and piece prices and premium bonus times shall be the same as that hitherto paid for the operations when performed by skilled labor.

2. Where skilled labor is at present employed, such shall not be displaced by less-skilled labor unless other skilled employment is offered to those about to be displaced.

3. Where skilled labor is transferred to any other work the earnings of such skilled labor shall not be less than that hitherto paid to such labor so transferred.

The following provision against speeding up is a part of this agreement: "It is agreed between the men and the firm that repetition work in the scheme of dilution shall not be subject to change of prices or time limit during the war. No time limit shall be recorded during the war for the purpose of being made the basis of prices or time limit after the war, and such men as have hitherto been employed as machine inspectors on that work be transferred to productive work."

So far as the groups involved in these agreements are concerned, the war may be a well disguised blessing. It is evident that they are fearless and wide-awake in defending their interests. Opening the eyes of large sections of workers to the more or less fictitious nature of the distinction between skilled and unskilled may result in great good.

It must be remembered, however, that dilution has already taken place on a large scale all over Britain, France and Germany. The number of workers who have been able to defend themselves against the disastrous effects of it must be comparatively small. By the millions women, boys, and common laborers are doing what has hitherto been paid as skilled labor and doing it at common labor rates. The result will probably be just what David Kirkwood and his fellow Scots foresaw. It may mean the end of the old form of unionism. And there may be a long interim of non-unionism.

Conscription of Wealth. Usually such notes as these deal with events. But sometimes an idea is more important than

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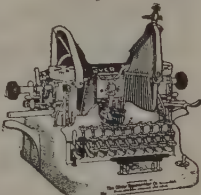
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an occurrence. Such is the notion that is taking hold of English Socialists at the present moment. The English now have conscription. That is, the government assumes the power to seize the bodies of its male citizens and consign such as it sees fit to the trenches. Cabinet control over flesh and blood is complete. You may be a pacifist. You may believe this war is unjust. You may not hate the Germans or wish to destroy them or anybody else. The government asks no questions. It takes you from your home, gives you a gun and a little discipline and sends you out to kill. England must win; therefore the English government must be given first claim to the bodies of young men.

Now, it is evident to all that something besides bodies are essential to victory. The war is costing England nearly 20,000,000 dollars a day. Wealth is needed in unprecedented quantities. The present method of getting hold of the necessary wealth is to issue bonds. Rich men lend money to the government on these bonds. Then they sell the government arms or supplies, get back what they paid for the bonds, and lend it over again. The continuation of this process is mortgaging the whole national existence for indefinite ages to come. The process is an unpleasant one for the nation. But somehow money must be got.

And there is another angle to the matter. Even with money in hand the government finds it difficult to secure sufficient stores. Prices are soaring. England is owned by a very small class, mostly the representatives of ancient families. Tracts which supported goodly populations three or four centuries ago are given over to shooting preserves. An effort was made recently to call out the Scotch Highlanders, and it was discovered that there are practically no Highlanders. They have been driven from their hillsides. England could support more people; that is, could furnish more food, if the land were in the hands of the government or in possession of small farmers. Here is another thing the government needs.

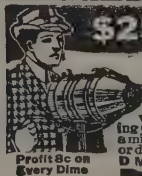
So the Socialists have had an idea: "Conscript wealth; conscript the land." Robert Smillie, not a Socialist, gave this

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idea dramatic force recently when he declared in a great meeting in Glasgow: "It is damnable that Lord Derby, who has not sacrificed one acre of the land which he holds, should have the power to say to other men, 'Come or I will fetch you.'"

Referring to this sentence, the *Herald*, London, editorializes: "Lord Derby's position is to be regarded as a typical, not a personal, one. No one will deny that he has labored patriotically according to his lights. What he fails to realize is the anomalous position of the whole class to which he belongs. * * * How the whole system of property which sustains the landlord and the capitalist strikes the worker is, we imagine, quite unrealized by landlords and capitalists. * * *

"The frame of mind of a man who, remaining in security and comfort at home, can force others into the midst of death, destruction, mutilation and terror, is so extraordinary as to defeat comment. * * *

* * * There is one thing which the rich man can do to save himself from the reproach of letting others perish in his interests. He can strip himself of all pomp and luxury, and reduce his way of living to that of the private soldier. He must not, he cannot, ask his fellow-countrymen to give up their blood * * * and then to return, such of them as can hope to return, to a Britain as unequally divided as ever, as shamefully exploited as ever, and far less free than the Britain they went out to save.

"But, if the rich man persists in refusing the sacrifice * * * let him be compelled. Let his broad acres be conscripted; they are of less value than the men who are being conscripted now."

Thus far, it should be added, the rich men in question have modestly failed to come forward with their sacrifices. In Scotland a public-spirited statesman suggested a way of hastening enlistment. "Let each landlord," said he, "promise each soldier a homestead of ten acres if he returns from the war to claim it." Not one landlord came forward with a single ten-acre plot to place upon his country's altar. Even the fanatical hatred of Germans does not carry the propertied classes so far afield as that.

"Let us not," says the *Herald*, "in the midst of the great war, forget the war that we know so well to be greater still. Great Britain is not owned by the British; it is owned by the landlords." And so, we must add, is Germany.

The Herald Coming Back. The foregoing paragraphs lead one to talk of the *Herald*. As a great daily and a very small weekly it has had its troubles. But the war is bringing it back to its rightful position. George Lansbury is its editor. John Scurr is a regular contributor. William Dyson draws for it some of the best cartoons in the world. Its line is not so much fighting against the war as fighting for British labor during the war. And it can fight.



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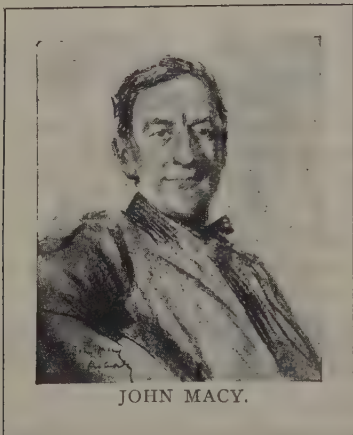
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BOOK REVIEWS



JOHN MACY.

Socialism in America: By John Macy, author of "The Spirit of American Literature." Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. Price, \$1.00 net.

Without exception the best history of the Socialist and labor movement in this country yet published. In this little volume Mr. Macy has accomplished wonders in eliminating the irrelevant. He has touched only upon the phases of Socialism germane to the class struggle. This book should be in the library of every Socialist party local in America. It points out clearly the reform, confusionist tendencies in the party and to what this trend would inevitably lead. It is an inventory of those things we have accomplished and the dangers that surround us in the bogs of reformism; it is not only these things, but a prophecy and a warning. Read this book. It will help to clarify the issues before you today and help to put the Socialist movement on a clear basis of the class struggle.

Capital Today: A Study of Recent Economic Development. By Herman Cahn. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Cloth, \$1.50 net.

Superficial writers, some of them claiming to be Socialists, often come out with the assertion that Marx is out of date by reason of the immense development of capitalism since the publication of "Capital." The present volume is the best possible refutation of such statements. In it Comrade Cahn has applied the discoveries of Marx to recent economic phenomena and has thus accomplished two important things: he has shown that the Marxian theories are confirmed and re-enforced by the new facts of recent development, and by the aid of these theories he has made intelligible to ordinary readers an immense mass of important facts which have hitherto been both complicated and baffling.

Space forbids a summary of the entire work, and we shall confine our comment to the author's analysis of one phenomenon, the extraordinary increase of what he calls "money of account," that is to say of bank deposits payable nominally in gold or its equivalent in bank, or treasury notes. These deposits in banks in the United States in 1863 amounted to \$394,000,000. In 1913 they had increased to \$17,936,000,000. The money in circulation for redeeming these deposits amounted in 1863 to \$675,000,000, nearly double the deposits. In 1913 it amounted to \$3,720,000,000, only a small fraction of the deposits. And since 1913 this discrepancy has been increasing faster than ever, so that the whole banking system is fast drifting into a state of insolvency.

Why does this "money of account" always increase from year to year, and much faster than the gold supply? Our author gives the explanation. The daily deposit in bank made by each active capitalist (individual or corporation) includes not only values which will later have to be withdrawn to pay for labor, materials, or other expenses incidental to the productive process, but also a SURPLUS produced by labor, for which the capitalist will never have to give any equivalent at all. Part of this surplus may later be withdrawn by the capitalist or by the stockholders of the corporation for personal expenditure, but a large portion of it remains, if not in the original bank, then in some other bank to which it is transferred by check, as loanable capital. It may be lent and repaid repeatedly, but once created it never disappears, unless through the bankruptcy of some bank or borrower, and the proportion of bankruptcies in the United States during the last fifty years has not been great enough to retard to any extent the growth of this "money of account." So it keeps on growing.

As to the outcome the author has his predictions, for which we refer the reader to the book itself. Whether we accept these conclusions or dissent from them, "Capital Today" is well worth reading, and we consider it the most important addition to the literature of Socialism that has been made for years.—C. H. K.

Anthracite: A new volume on natural resource monopoly, by Dr. Scott Nearing, of the University of Toledo, author of "Wages in the United States," "Financing the Wage Earner's Family," etc., etc. Published by The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia, Pa. Price, \$1.00 net.

The facts contained in this volume refute the statements of the coal operators who have instituted an advertising campaign against the anthracite miners who are demanding a 20 per cent wage increase. Every socialist should have a copy to equip himself for helping the miners win this fight.

NEWS AND VIEWS



This Hall Is Collectively Owned by the Miners of Huntly, Auckland, New Zealand.

The Broken Hill Miners of Australia are out on strike, 6,000 strong, for the purpose of securing a 44-hour week. The REVIEW received a cablegram from W. B. Barnett, general secretary, requesting us to notify the miners of America. We immediately notified the U. M. W. of A.

If the strike succeeds, it will mean that a 44-hour week will be established in Australia. The miners are showing a splendid spirit of solidarity, but we regret to note that the Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association are scabbing on strikers. So much for the beauties of craft organization. The most effective spot to hit the boss is to strike at his bank roll, which means striking on the job.

The Gold Miners of Leadhills, Scotland, have just finished their six-month strike. They won an increase in wages, and all the men are to be taken back without discrimination. An agreement was sent signed under protest, which will no doubt be taken up for future consideration.

These gold mines are the oldest in Great Britain and are located in the highest hills of Scotland. The miners own one of the oldest circulating libraries in Europe.

The strike was supported by all the forces of labor. The Scottish Miners' Federation donated a large sum, as well as other miners' organizations.

From One of the Old Guard—"I have been a member of the party for over ten years, spent lots of money, a good deal of it when I really could not afford it, but my enthusiasm is gone. The reason is the leaders who run the party are too liberal with the money they get from the Jimmy Higgins; most of it is produced under hard circumstances. It is money, money, money all the time and debts piling up all the time from one end of the party to another. Considering the caliber of the speakers they cost too much money, and I, for one, have got tired of going in my pocket to make up the deficit. A dollar for literature is more benefit than \$2.00 spent on some "fly by night" speaker. Fraternally yours, G. B., Montana."

The General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World will convene in Chicago, Monday, April 3, at headquarters, 164 W. Washington street.

To Improve the Review—Comrade Hilary of Canada sends in \$3.00 for renewals and adds: "The only way I know you might improve the REVIEW would be to enlarge it and give us more of it." If every REVIEW reader will round up on yearly subscriptions during the next three months, we could easily enlarge the REVIEW.

Gustavus Myers Honored—Owing to the array of original facts pertaining to the early history of Canada appearing in the "History of Canadian Wealth" by Comrade Myers, he has been elected a Fellow of the American Geographical Society. It is a great pleasure to us to see one who has contributed more than any other Socialist to the literature of our American movement recognized by men so high up in the field of learning. Such writers as Comrade Myers are rarely appreciated during their lifetime. The American Geographical Society is a happy exception.

"Democracy on the March"—Comrade Henry L. Slobodin has been discoursing for several months through the pages of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. He has been taken to task for his advocacy of universal military training and makes his come-back at his critics in the March REVIEW, winding up thusly:

"Democracy is on the march." "Democracy of arms is coming."

Wonder if democracy in economic social relations is coming? Why not look and seek for that goal while we are at it?

When the cowboys and bad men of old used to roam the wooley west with their shooting irons, they had "democracy of arms"; but democracy in the cattle industry was not developing because of it.

When our savage and barbarous ancestors of long ago all possessed their little clubs and spears and bow and arrow, they had "democracy of arms"; but democracy in economic relations was not the thing that was then developing because of that.

I understand that Comrade Slobodin is a scientific socialist of the Rand School. Then let us suggest to him that democracy in economic relations is the king democracy that will determine the nature of the democracies in practically all the super-structural social relations, once it is attained. Economic bed-rock, its arrangement, development and organization is the thing to consider first, and work into the super-structure from the foundation.

Any so-called "political democracy," "religious democracy" or "military democracy" is but a hollow sham so long as we have not attained democracy in economic relations.

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Social development started with "democracy of arms." Where are our military Socialists anyway? Marching backward?

Would further suggest that democracy in economic relations does not grow out of "democracy of arms." IT NEVER HAS. That is the point.

To hell with military training. *Let us have ECONOMIC TRAINING.* We do need it. —Proletaria Bill.

Our War Element—Why not, as a New Year's resolution, propose an amendment to the Socialist party platform, National and International, that will prevent and do away with our pro-war element?

What shall we do with our pro-war comrades? Having held various discussions with many of them on war, I find that some favor it. But so far as I can see, there is no "justification of war" from a Socialist viewpoint. When you have chosen a cause, which you know is just, live for it and, if need be, die for it. The time came in Europe at the outbreak of this European war for the Socialist party of all the warring nations to emphasize this principle.

"Socialism and Opposition to War!" To live for it and die for it. I maintain that if only 1,000 Socialists or so had stood ready to be court-martialed and shot down in the streets of Berlin, and likewise in Vienna, Paris, Petrograd, and all other important cities of the warring nations wherever the Socialist party was strongest, the emperors, czars and kings would not have held the iron hand as they do today, and in all probability the world conflict would to some extent have been avoided.

Now, the question is, What shall we do with our pro-war comrades? How can we, the Socialist party of the United States, avoid repeating, in case of war, the error of our European comrades? Furthermore, what could we do with such Socialists in time of a social revolution? Why not make them class conscious today? They ought to decide which side they are going to take, now or never, when they join the Socialist party.

I deem it would almost be best to be out and alone than in the party with a pro-war division.—F. S., Chicago.

What About War Plans?—A comrade in Billings, Mont., writes us a very interesting letter this month, in which he points to a very significant fact. Are capitalists who are putting their moneys in munition factories and plants, for making of guns and other weapons of warfare—are these capitalists expecting to allow their plants to lie idle after the European war is over? This is a very interesting point. Perhaps it is a great factor back of much of this talk for preparedness. Of course, these capitalists desire to continue the manufacture of arms and ammunition. Continued wars will be most profitable to them. Think this over and talk it over with your friends. —S. F. H.

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 - Sabotage.
 - Women in Industry.
 - Small Families a Working Class Necessity.
 - The Mexican Struggle for Freedom.
 - Patriotism and Preparedness.
 - Labor's Prisoners in the U. S. Today.
- She will speak throughout Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa and Missouri.

Labor organizations desiring to secure dates should write to Wm. D. Haywood, room 307, 164 West Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

Margaret Sanger of New York is going to deliver three lectures in Chicago, beginning April 25th. Every rebel will want to hear her. Announcements regarding place and hour will be made in the newspapers, as well as from the various radical platforms.

From a Rail Slave—A railroad company in the state of K—— is so much interested in its men that it has representatives attend all meeting held by the various orders of the trainmen and, like wolves in sheep clothing, send the railroad officials a report of all business transacted at railroad employees' meetings.

When a brakeman or fireman joins either one of those two orders he is called up the next morning and discharged. Of course he is supposed to be joining a secret order, but railroad spotters are on the inside and, in many instances, hold official positions.

When some important matter is referred to the members to vote upon (like whether they should join the Southeastern Association, for example) they are sent ballots by the secretaries to vote and sign their names instead of being allowed to vote by secret ballot as it should be. It is needless to say that the men never vote against the railroad company's interest.

Some of these hirelings have the nerve to attend state legislature meetings and back up the company in increasing tonnage and double headers.

This road incidentally is being made a kindergarten for other railroads that pick the best men from this road, which breaks them in. Just as soon as these men learn the servile working conditions they join the brotherhood, get fired and go to another road to work. Some day this railroad that fights organization will wake up to the fact that it has been worked good and proper by other railroads.

And its slaves will also wake up by becoming class conscious Socialists.

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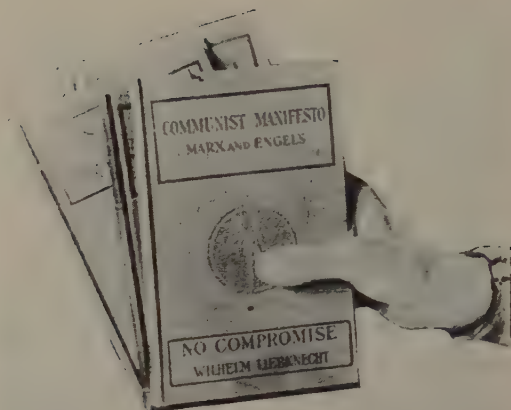
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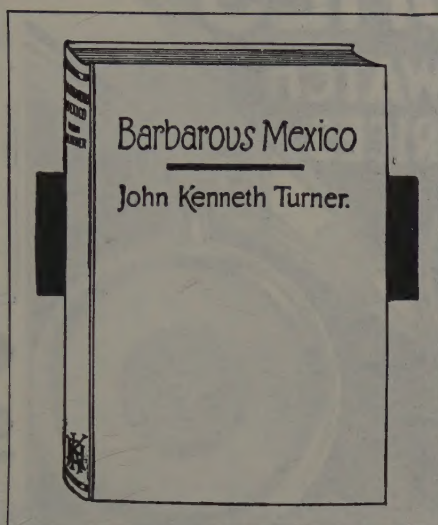
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